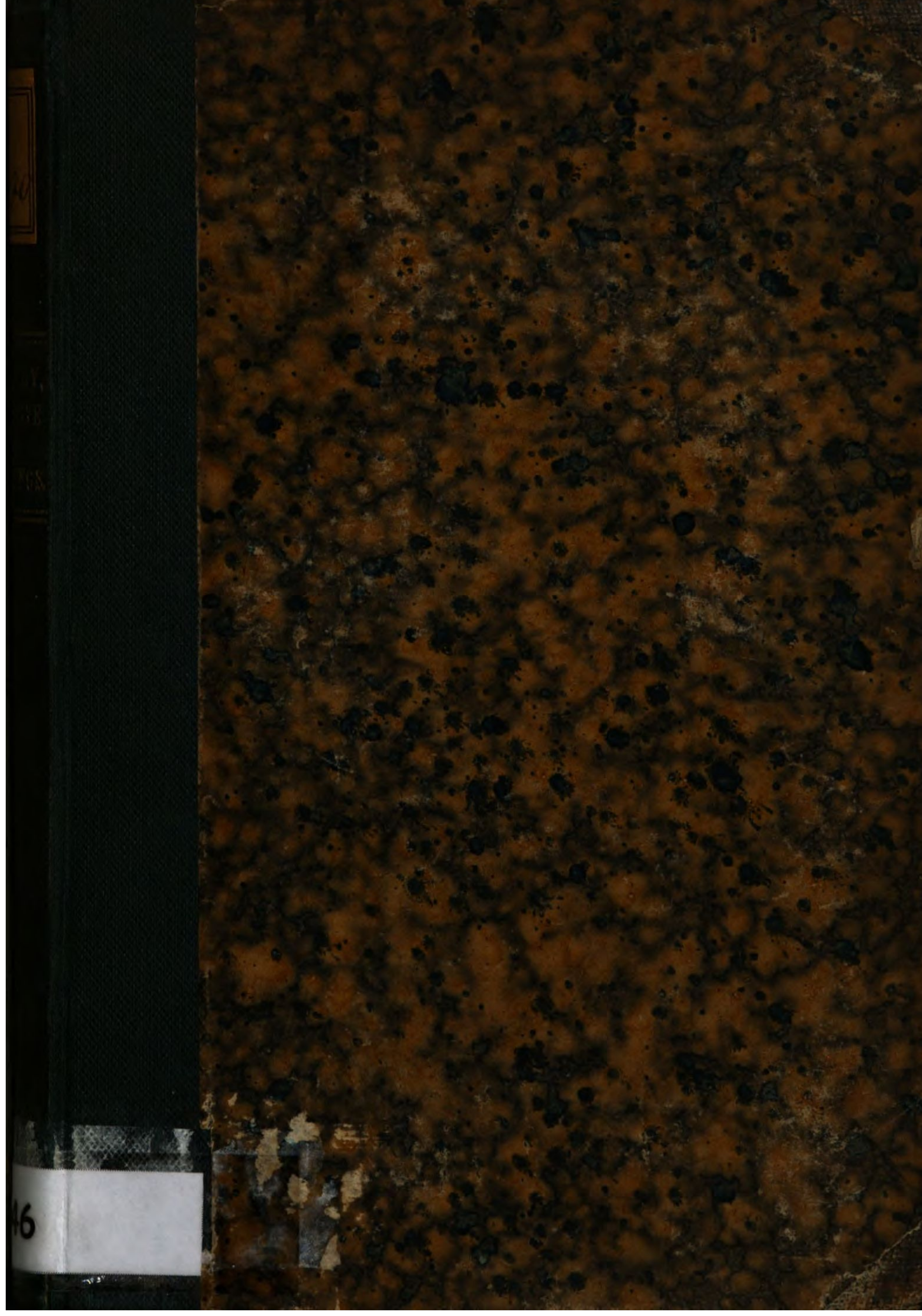
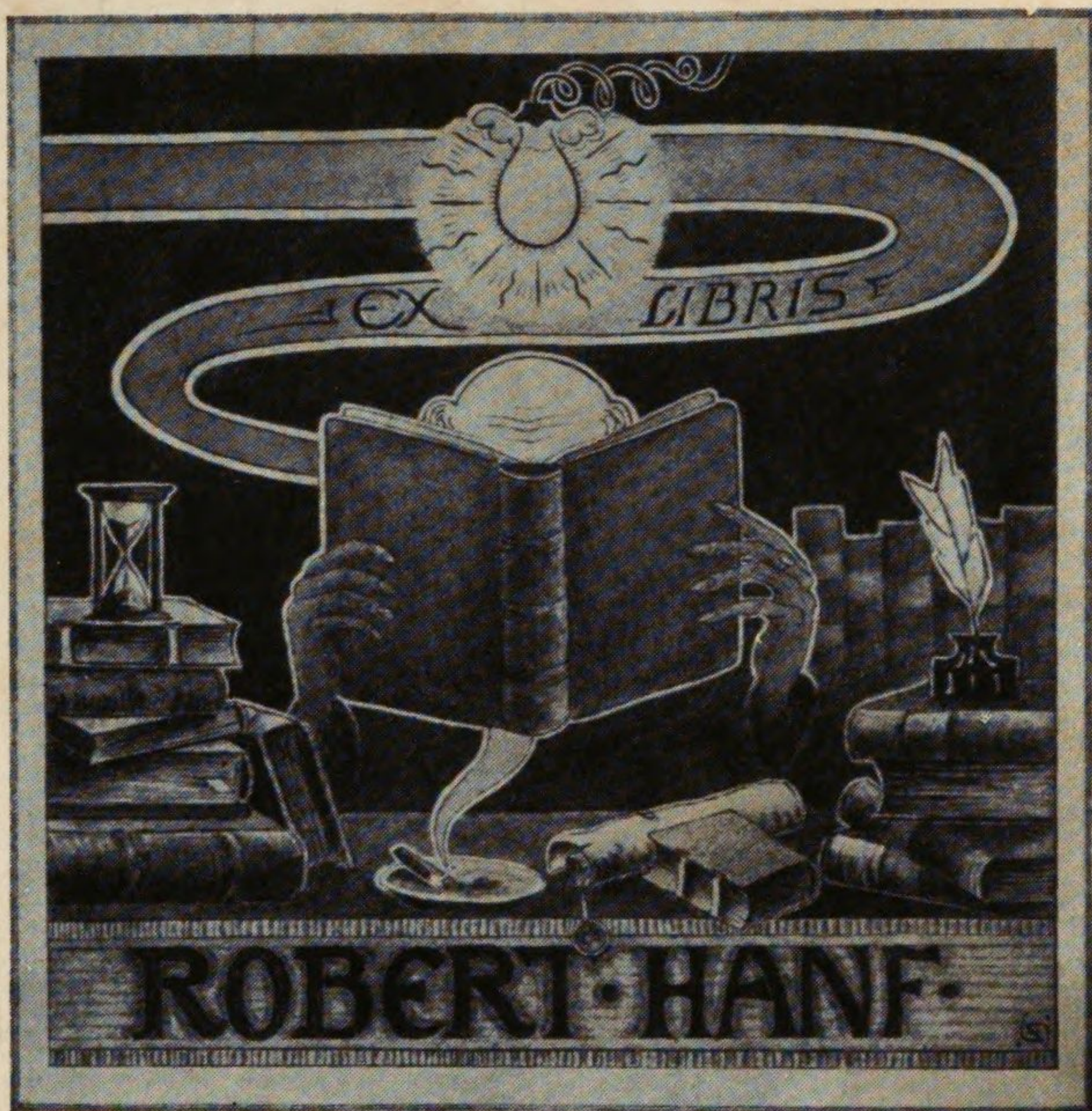




Macaulay



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LORD CLIVE
UND
WARREN HASTINGS.

Ad. Bibl.
Rob. Hanf

LORD CLIVE

1797

WARREN HASTINGS

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LORD CLIVE
UND
WARREN HASTINGS.

DIE GRÜNDER
DES
INDO-BRITISCHEN REICHES.

ZWEI ESSAYS
VON
THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY.

FÜR DIE
OBEREN CLASSEN HÖHERER LEHRANSTALTEN
BEARBEITET
VON
DR K. BÖDDEKER.

MIT EINER KARTE VON H. KIEPERT.

BERLIN,
WEIDMANNSCHE BUCHHANDLUNG.
1876.

Ad. Bibl.
Rob. Hanf

Vorrede.

Die beiden nachfolgenden Essays von Macaulay gehören zu den hervorragendsten Leistungen der englischen Prosa. Die logische Schärfe jeder einzelnen Argumentation, die durchsichtige Klarheit jedes Gedankens, die vollendete Eleganz des Ausdrucks fesseln ebenso mächtig das Interesse des Lesers, wie sie seine Ueberzeugung unwillkürlich bestimmen. Und dieses Letztere eben ist es, was diese Abhandlungen zu einem besonders werthvollen Bildungsmittel für das Alter macht, das wir in den oberen Klassen unserer höheren Lehranstalten für eine solide Selbständigkeit heranzubilden haben. Macaulay führt uns in grossen, aber scharfen Zügen die Entwicklung zweier grosser Männer vor. Wir sehen in zwei hochbegabten, mit aller Energie des Willens ausgestatteten Naturen die stärksten Leidenschaften, den frevelhaftesten Uebermuth mit wahrer Grösse vereinigt. Der Verfasser lässt uns diese Naturen durchschauen, er lässt unsern Blick in die verborgensten Motive ihres Denkens und Handelns hineindringen. Wir verfolgen das Thun und das Geschick dieser historischen Charaktere mit derselben Spannung des Interesses, welche wir dem Verhängniss eines bedeutenden dramatischen Charakters auf der Bühne schenken. Das befangene, unbeständige, von Leidenschaften und Sonderinteressen beeinflusste Urtheil der Mitwelt tritt vor uns hin, — das Urtheil der Nachwelt, der Geschichte, lässt der Autor uns selbst fällen; denn wir können nicht umhin, uns seinem, von männlich würdigem Denken diktirten, auf der

gesundesten Moral und der reinsten Humanität beruhenden Urtheile mit voller Ueberzeugung anzuschliessen und in demselben das Schlussurtheil aller Zukunft zu sehen.

Die Geschichte der Gründung eines grossen europäischen Reiches in Ostindien ist fernerhin ein bedeutsamer, lehrreicher Theil der Weltgeschichte. Es kommt hinzu, dass Macaulay, einer der tiefsten Denker aller Länder und Zeiten auf den Gebieten der Geschichte und Politik, uns an manchem Punkte Um- und Rückschau halten lässt, zu manchem lehrreichen Vergleiche unser Nachdenken auffordert, manche allgemeine Wahrheit uns vorhält, und zwar nicht in der Form einer abstrakten Idee, sondern in der eines bindenden Schlusses, zu dem unser eigenes Denken sich genöthigt sieht. — Dass wir zugleich über die wichtigsten staatlichen Einrichtungen Englands unterrichtet werden, des Staates, dessen Formen die Grundlage aller geordneten konstitutionellen Regierungen der Neuzeit bilden, darf nicht vergessen werden. — Das politisch und moralisch erziehende Element in den nachfolgenden Monographien ist unschätzbar.

Die Noten unter dem Texte und die Erläuterungen hinter demselben verfolgen den Zweck, die Lektüre des Buches in jeder Hinsicht möglichst fruchtbringend zu machen. Wo ich es für wesentlich und thunlich hielt, das Denken in den Begriff eines Wortes einzuführen, habe ich dies nicht unterlassen. — Auf die Aussprache habe ich bei vielen Eigennamen hinweisen müssen. Bei anderen Wörtern, welche in Folge einer, unserer Muttersprache entstammenden Neigung leicht unrichtig gesprochen werden, habe ich die Aussprache ebenfalls angedeutet: Wer einmal ein Wort mit unrichtigem Laute seinem Gedächtnisse eingeprägt hat, wird dasselbe sehr oft aus dem Munde des Lehrers hören müssen, bis er sich eine richtige Aussprache dauernd aneignet.

Der Akut (´) bezeichnet Ton und Kürze, der Gravis (˘) Ton und Länge. Ein einzelnes Kürze- oder Längezeichen über einem Worte bedeutet zugleich den Ton. Ein Stern-

chen (*) bei einem Worte weist auf eine Erläuterung zu demselben hin. — Den Buchstaben j, ch, sh in indischen Eigennamen ist die englische Aussprache beizulegen.

Den „Lord Clive“ habe ich als zur Lektüre für die Secunde besonders geeignet angesehen und darauf bei der Bearbeitung Rücksicht genommen. „Warren Hastings“ möchte mit grösserem Vortheile in der Prima gelesen werden. — Jeder der beiden Theile kann in einem Semester sehr wohl bewältigt werden.

Es möchte sich empfehlen, in der ersten Lektion den Inhalt der Einleitung vorzutragen und ein festes Einprägen der einzelnen Daten zu verlangen. — An eine hinreichende Vorbereitung würde ich die Anforderung stellen, dass die sprachlichen wie die sachlichen Bemerkungen zum Eigenthum des Schülers geworden sein müssen.

Stettin, im Januar 1876.

Dr. K. Böddeker.

Thomas Babington Macaulay,

am 25. October 1800 zu Rothley-Temple in der Grafschaft Leicester geboren, studirte in Cambridge Mathematik, später in Lincoln's Inn (vgl. die betreffende Erläuterung zu Warren Hastings, V.) die Rechte und trat 1826 als Rechtsanwalt auf. Er widmete sich aber fast ausschliesslich der Schriftstellerei, und seine zerstreut in der „Edinburgh Review“ erscheinenden literarischen und biographisch-politischen Essays lenkten bald die Aufmerksamkeit des Publikums auf ihn. Da er in seinen Schriften die politischen Meinungen der Whigs verfocht, so wurde er 1830 in das Unterhaus gewählt, wo er zuerst im Redekampfe um die Durchsetzung der Reformbill (1830), welche eine Umgestaltung des Parlamentes, vor allen Dingen die Aufhebung der Wahlberechtigung der „rotten-boroughs“ beantragte, eine Lanze brach. Unter dem Whigministerium Grey (1830 — 35) wurde Macaulay Sekretär im „Board of Control“, d. h. in dem Amte, welches als staatliche Aufsichtsbehörde über ostindische Angelegenheiten fungirte, und 1834 Sekretär des Obergerichts in Calcutta, welche Stelle er bis 1838 verwaltete. Im folgenden Jahre ernannte ihn Lord Melbourne, der von 1839 — 41 an der Spitze eines Whigministeriums stand, zum „Secretary at war“, in welcher Eigenschaft er die Armeeinteressen vor dem Parlamente zu vertreten hatte. (Ein eigentlicher Kriegsminister, „Secretary for war“, welcher Stellung neben den übrigen Mitgliedern des Ministerrathes (cabinet) hat, existirt erst seit 1854.) Von 1841

ab finden wir Macaulay im Unterhause als hervorragendes Mitglied der Opposition gegen das Toryministerium des Sir Robert Peel (1841—46). — So war Macaulay sowohl in die Schwierigkeiten der Verwaltung der indischen Besitzungen und in den bestehenden Modus dieser Verwaltung vollkommen eingeweiht, als er auch andererseits die Zustände des Landes selbst und den Charakter seiner Bewohner aus eigener Anschauung aufs genaueste kannte, und Niemand konnte ein freieres und geprüfteres Urtheil über die Wirksamkeit der Männer haben, deren Biographien wir in Nachfolgendem finden, als eben Macaulay.

Als Dichter hat er sich einen wohlverdienten Ruhm erworben durch seine „Lays of ancient Rome“ (1843), als Historiker hat seine „History of England“ (London 1848 ff.) seinen Namen unsterblich gemacht.

Macaulay starb im Jahre 1859 zu Kensington, einer Vorstadt von London, nachdem er 1857 zur Peerwürde erhoben war. Seine Leiche wurde in der Westminster-Abtei beigesetzt.

Einleitung.

Die Ureinwohner Indiens, welche der äthiopischen Race angehörten und daher dunkle Hautfarbe zeigten, waren in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit von den, der kaukasischen Race angehörigen Ariern unterjocht worden, also von Völkerschaften der Stamm- und Sprachgenossenschaft, welche in Hinsicht auf ihre Verbreitung auch die indo-europäische genannt wird. Die Eroberer gründeten allmählig, vielleicht zwischen 2000 und 1500 v. Chr., eine grosse Anzahl von Reichen in Vorderindien, an deren Spitze je ein „Rajah“ oder König stand; nur einzelne Stämme der Ureinwohner blieben in Decan unabhängig. Die Religion dieser Arier, die nach dem Hauptstrom ihrer neuen Heimath, dem Indus, „Hindus“ (Inder) genannt wurden, war der Brahmanismus, eine Religion, welche in ihrer ursprünglichen Form einen hohen Grad politischer Weisheit wie gesunder Moral erkennen lässt. Mit der Religion aufs innigste verbunden war das ganze politische und sociale Leben, das wesentlich auf absoluter Königsherrschaft und strengster Kastenscheidung (Kaste der Priester oder Brahmanen, Kriegerkaste, Kaste der Ackerbau- und Handeltreibenden, Kaste der Handwerker und Arbeiter) beruhte. Alle Hindustämme sprechen Dialekte der Sprache, deren älteste und reinste Form uns in dem Sanskrit, der Sprache der ältesten heiligen Bücher der Inder, erhalten ist. — Um die Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts vor Chr. drang

der Buddhismus auch in Indien ein, doch blieb der Kultus des Brahma der vorherrschende.

Mit dem 8. Jahrhundert nach Chr. beginnen die Versuche mohamedanischer Dynastien, sich in Indien festzusetzen (am mächtigsten war die Herrschaft der Ghasnaviden, 1000—1186), aber erst dem Mongolenfürsten Baber, einem Urenkel Timurs (Tamerlans) gelang es im Jahre 1526, dauernd ein mohamedanisches Reich mit der Hauptstadt Delhi in Indien zu gründen. Fast das ganze Land wurde dem Grossmogul — so nennt man nach dem Vorgange der Engländer den Herrscher von Delhi — unterworfen und in verschiedene Landschaften getheilt mit einem Nabob, d. h. Statthalter, an der Spitze. — Unter Aurungzib (1656—1707) erlangte das Reich von Delhi seine grösste Macht und Ausdehnung, verfiel aber nach dessen Tode derart, dass die meisten der Provinzen sich thatsächlich im Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts unabhängig machten und nur zum Scheine ihr Verhältniss zum Throne von Delhi aufrecht erhielten. Zugleich war das unabhängige Volk der Mahratten, von den Ureinwohnern abstammend, aus dem Innern von Decan hervorgebrochen und hatte weite Eroberungen gemacht, während sich die Sikhs, ursprünglich eine religiöse Sekte, später ein eigenes Volk, das sich aus allen möglichen Stämmen zusammensetzte, im Nordwesten von Indien, in Guzerate, Multan und Lahore festgesetzt hatten. So bestanden neben einander die Staaten der Sikhs, das machtlose Reich von Delhi, daneben der kleine Staat der eingewanderten Rohillas, der unabhängige Staatenbund der Rajputen (Hindus), die mohamedanischen Nabobien, die Staaten der Mahratten, der grosse Staat des Nizam, das heisst des Rajah von Hyderabad in Decan (nominell auch ein Vasallenstaat des Grossmogul), und der Staat Mysore.

Im Mittelalter, wie schon im Alterthum, hatten die Araber in lebhaftem Handelsverkehr mit Ostindien gestanden. Die Produkte dieses Landes wurden auf den bekannten Handelsstrassen des Mittelalters nach Europa weiter befördert. Mit der Entdeckung des Seeweges nach Ostindien

begann ein direkter Handelsverkehr zwischen Indien und Europa. Im Jahre 1498 landete Vasco de Gama in Calicut an der Küste Malabar, und ein ganzes Jahrhundert hindurch wussten sich die Portugiesen im Monopole des Handels mit Ostindien zu behaupten. Aber gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts sank ihre Macht, und nun begann ein Wettstreit zwischen Holländern, Spaniern, Franzosen und Engländern um die Herrschaft in den indischen Gewässern. Die Holländer trugen den Sieg davon, doch konnten sie den Verkehr anderer Nationen mit Ostindien nicht vollständig verhindern.

Im Jahre 1599 hatte sich eine Gesellschaft Londoner Kaufherrn konstituiert, welche die Königin um das Privilegium des ostindischen Handels anging. Am 31. Dezember 1600 wurde dasselbe ertheilt, und so entstand die britisch-ostindische Kompagnie, die anfänglich nur Handelszwecke verfolgte, bald aber auch auf Landerwerb ausging. Im Jahre 1640 wurde Madras als englische Niederlassung gegründet und das Fort St. George auf der Küste Coromandel erbaut. 1662 wussten die Briten die wichtige Seestadt Bombay von Aurungzib zu erwerben. Schon im Jahre 1651 hatten sie die Berechtigung erlangt, in ganz Bengalen freien Handel zu treiben, worauf sie an der Stelle, wo jetzt Calcutta liegt, eine Faktorei anlegten; 1698 gelangten sie durch Kauf in den Besitz der Stadt, die um diese Faktorei herum allmählig entstanden war. Zugleich wurde Fort William angelegt, welches 1707 zur Präsidentschaft, d. h. zum Mittelpunkt eines Verwaltungsbezirkes erhoben wurde. — Bombay, Madras und Calcutta (Fort William) sind die drei ursprünglichen Präsidentschaften von Britisch-Indien. — Karl II. erweiterte 1661 die Berechtigungen der Kompagnie dahin, dass sie bürgerliche Gerichtsbarkeit in Ostindien ausüben, eigene Truppen halten und über Krieg und Frieden mit den Eingeborenen selbst beschliessen durfte. Trotz mancher Krisen, die sie durchzumachen hatte, wusste sich die Gesellschaft doch zu behaupten. — Im Jahre 1709 führte sie eine neue Organisation durch, welche in der Hauptsache bis in die neueste Zeit hinein (1858) fortbestand. Jeder Besitzer einer

Aktie von 500 Pfd. Sterling hatte Stimmrecht in der Generalversammlung (Court of Proprietors), welche bei allen Fragen von fundamentaler Bedeutung zusammenberufen werden musste. Aus der Zahl der Aktionäre, welche im Besitze von vier solchen Aktien waren, wählte die Generalversammlung die 24 Direktoren (Court of Directors), die Verwaltungsbehörde der Gesellschaft. Die Direktoren ernannten für jede der drei Präsidentschaften den Präsidenten oder Gouverneur und die Mitglieder des Rathes, der ihm zur Seite stand. — Ueber die weiteren Veränderungen in der Verwaltung, das Gesetz von 1773 (Regulating Act) und das von 1784 (Pitt's East-India Bill, Board of Control) belehrt der Text. — Im Jahre 1858 ging das Territorium der Kompagnie an das Reich über „als ein Theil des britischen Reiches unter der Herrschaft der Königin“.

Als der Einfluss der Holländer auf dem Festlande von Vorderindien mehr und mehr abnahm, handelte es sich darum, ob die Franzosen oder die Engländer Herren in Indien sein würden. Eine französisch-ostindische Kompagnie hatte 1672 den ersten kleinen Territorialbesitz auf der Küste Coromandel erworben, wo man Pondichery anlegte; zugleich trat man von hier aus mit mehreren eingeborenen Fürsten von Decan in Verbindung. Als im österreichischen Erbfolgekriege (1740—48) Engländer und Franzosen als Gegner sich feindlich gegenüberstanden, massen sich die Kräfte der beiden Nationen auch in Indien. Anfangs gewannen die Franzosen unter Labourdonnaie und Dupleix bedeutende Vorthelle, bis Lord Clive ihnen den Sieg entriss und mit Kraft und Besonnenheit den Plan des letzteren, eine souveräne Herrschaft über Indien zu begründen, für die Zwecke seines eigenen Vaterlandes weiter verfolgte. — Die Ueberlegenheit der britischen Waffen und die schlaue Taktik der Statthalter, welche in die inneren Angelegenheiten der einheimischen Staaten sich einzumischen und immer fester Fuss zu fassen verstanden, liessen im fernen Osten ein britisches Reich entstehen, welches zunächst die drei alten Präsi-

dentschaften Bombay, Madras und Calcutta als Centralpunkte hatte, jetzt aber aus neun ausgedehnten Verwaltungsbezirken besteht.

Den Einfluss der Engländer auf das Staatsleben, die socialen Verhältnisse und die Bildung der Inder näher zu erörtern, würde hier zu weit führen. Es sei nur erwähnt, dass Britisch-Indien drei Universitäten und (nach der Zählung des Jahres 1873) 40,700 Schulen besitzt.

Lord Clive.

I.

Clive's Jugend

bis zum Beginn seiner militärischen Laufbahn.

1725—1746.

The Clives had been settled,¹⁾ ever since the twelfth century, on an estate of no great value, near Market-Drayton,* in Shropshire.²⁾ In the reign of George the First,* this moderate but ancient inheritance was possessed³⁾ by Mr. Richard Clive, who seems to have been a plain man of no great tact or capacity. He had been bred to the law,⁴⁾ and divided his time between professional business⁵⁾ and the avocations of a small proprietor. He married a lady from Manchester, of the name of Gaskill, and became the father of a very numerous family. His eldest son, Robert, the founder of the British empire in India, was born at the old seat of his ancestors on the twenty-ninth of September, 1725.

Some lineaments of the character⁶⁾ of the man were early discerned⁷⁾ in the child. There remain letters written by his relations when he was in his seventh year; and from these letters it appears that, even at that early age, his strong will and his fiery passions, sustained by a constitutional⁸⁾ intre-

¹⁾ to settle (sitzen machen) sesshaft machen und sich sesshaft machen; settled daher: sesshaft gemacht, sesshaft, ansässig. ²⁾ shire, ursprünglich ein Gebietstheil, welcher unter die Jurisdiction eines sheriff, d. h. shire-Grafen gestellt wurde, also Grafschaft, hat in Zusammensetzungen den kurzen i-Laut. ³⁾ to possess hebt das Festhalten des Besitzes hervor, also eine Thätigkeit, und daraus erklärt sich die obige passive Verwendung dieses Verbums. Das deutsche besitzen bezeichnet etwas Zuständliches. ⁴⁾ bred to the law, für das Gesetz, d. h. für den Richterstand. ⁵⁾ spr. business. ⁶⁾ spr. carácter. ⁷⁾ spr. dizzérn. ⁸⁾ constitution bezeichnet den Körperbau, aber auch den Gesamtbau aller geistigen Eigenthümlichkeiten eines Menschen; constitutional ist daher alles das, was in der Anlage jemandes begründet liegt.

pidity which sometimes seemed hardly compatible with soundness of mind, had begun to cause great uneasiness to his family. „Fighting,“ says one of his uncles, „to which he is out of measure addicted, gives his temper such a fierceness and imperiousness,⁹⁾ that he flies out on every trifling occasion.“ The old people of the neighbourhood still remember to have heard from their parents how Bob¹⁰⁾ Clive climbed to the top¹¹⁾ of the lofty steeple¹²⁾ of Market-Drayton, and with what terror the inhabitants saw him seated on a stone spout¹³⁾ near the summit. They also relate how¹⁴⁾ he formed all the idle lads of the town into a kind of predatory army, and compelled the shopkeepers to submit to a tribute of apples and half-pence,¹⁵⁾ in consideration of which he guaranteed the security of their windows. He was sent from school to school, making very little progress¹⁶⁾ in his learning, and gaining for himself every where the character of an exceedingly naughty boy. One of his masters, it is said, was sagacious enough to prophesy that the idle lad would make a great figure in the world. But the general opinion seems to have been that poor Robert was a dunce, if not a réprobate. His family expected nothing good from such slender parts¹⁷⁾ and such a headstrong¹⁸⁾ temper. It is not strange, therefore, that they gladly accepted for him, when he was in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the East India Company, and shipped him off to make a fortune or to die of a fever¹⁹⁾ at Mādrás.

⁹⁾ imperiousness, Hochmuth, Arroganz; zu frz. impérieux, lat. imperare; vgl. imperator, empereur, emperor. ¹⁰⁾ Bob, volksthümliche Abkürzung von Robert. ¹¹⁾ top (deutsch Zopf), die Spitze. ¹²⁾ steeple, der allmählig zugespitzte Thurm, bezeichnet hier speziell den Kirchthurm; tower ist der stumpfe Thurm einer mittelalterlichen Festungsmauer oder einer Burg. ¹³⁾ to spout (deutsch: spützen), Wasser ergiessen; the spout ist die hervortretende Röhre einer Dachrinne, aus der schliesslich das Wasser sich ergiesst. ¹⁴⁾ Für die Konjunktion how hätten wir that erwartet; Macaulay liebt es, dem Objectsatze, der eine Mittheilung enthält, die Form eines indirekten Fragesatzes zu geben. Auch im Deutschen finden wir bisweilen die entsprechende Neigung. ¹⁵⁾ spr. hā-pence. ¹⁶⁾ progress, das Fortschreiten, kann keinen Plural annehmen. ¹⁷⁾ part a) Theil, Portion, b) parts, pl. (die angeborenen geistigen Portionen): Fähigkeiten, Talente. ¹⁸⁾ headstrong (kopfstark, der Kopf als Sitz des Willens gedacht), halsstarrig. ¹⁹⁾ fever bezeichnet a) eine einzelne Fieberart, b) einen einzelnen Fieberanfall, daher: to die of a fever.

Far different were the prospects of Clive from those of the youths whom the East India College now annually sends to the Presidencies* of our Asiatic empire. The Company was then purely a trading corporation. Its territory consisted of a few square miles, for which rent was paid to the native governments. Its troops were scarcely numerous enough to man the batteries of three or four ill-constructed forts, which had been erected for the protection of the warehouses. The natives, who composed a considerable part of these little garrisons, had not yet been trained in the discipline of Europe, and were armed, some with swords²⁰⁾ and shields, some with bows and arrows. The business of the servant of the Company was not, as now, to conduct the judicial, financial, and diplomatic business of a great country, but to take stock,²¹⁾ to make advances to weavers, to ship cargoes, and above all to keep an eye on private traders who dared to infringe the monopoly. The younger clerks²²⁾ were so miserably paid that they could scarcely subsist without incurring debt; the elder enriched themselves by trading on their own account; and those who lived to rise²³⁾ to the top of the service often accumulated considerable fortunes.

Madras, to which Clive had been appointed, was, at this time, perhaps, the first in importance of the Company's settlements. In the preceding century, Fort St. George had arisen on a barren spot beaten by a raging surf; and in the neighbourhood a town, inhabited by many thousands of natives, had sprung up, as towns spring up in the East, with the rapidity of the prophet's gourd.* There were already in the suburbs many white villas, each surrounded by its garden. whither the wealthy agents of the Company retired, after the labours of the desk²⁴⁾ and the warehouse, to enjoy the cool breeze which springs up at sunset from the Bay of Bengal.²⁵⁾

²⁰⁾ w ist stumm in sword. ²¹⁾ stock (deutsch Stock) a) Stamm eines Baumes, b) Stammkapital, c) Antheil am Stammkapital, Aktie, d) aufgespeicherte Waarenvorräthe, Waaren zum Aufspeichern. ²²⁾ spr. clark; clerc (lat. clericus, frz. clergé), ursprünglich Geistlicher, dann b) Gelehrter, d. h. ein Mann, der lesen und schreiben konnte (im Mittelalter waren die Geistlichen fast die einzigen, welche diese Künste verstanden), c) ein Schreiber und endlich d) jeder unter einem Vorgesetzten stehende Handelsbeflissene, mag er nun mit der Feder dienen oder auf dem Lager. ²³⁾ Der Infinitiv hat hier temporale Bedeutung: bis sie sich aufschwingen. ²⁴⁾ desk (das deutsche Tisch), Schreibepult. ²⁵⁾ spr. Bengawl.

The habits of these mercantile grandees appear to have been more profuse, luxurious, and ostentatious, than those of the high judicial and political functionaries ²⁶⁾ who have succeeded them. But comfort was far less understood. Many devices ²⁷⁾ which now mitigate the heat of the climate, preserve health, and prolong life, were unknown. There was far less intercourse with Europe than at present. The voyage by ²⁸⁾ the Cape, which in our time has often been performed within three months, was then very seldom accomplished in six, and was sometimes protracted to more than a year. Consequently, the Anglo-Indian was then much more estranged ²⁹⁾ from his country, much more addicted to Oriental usages, and much less fitted to mix in ³⁰⁾ society after his return to Europe, than the Anglo-Indian of the present day.

Within the fort and its precincts, the English governors exercised, by permission of the native rulers, an extensive authority, such as ³¹⁾ every great Indian landowner exercised within his own domain. But they had never dreamed of claiming independent power. The surrounding country was governed by the Nàbob* of the Carnatic, a deputy of the Viceroy of the Deccan, commonly called the Nizâm,* who was himself only a deputy of the mighty prince designated by our ancestors as the Great Mōgūl.* Those names, once so august and formidable, still remain. There is still a Nabob of the Carnatic, who lives on ³²⁾ a pension allowed to him by the English out of the revenues of the province which his ancestors ruled. There is still a Nizam, whose capital is overawed by a British cantonment, and tho whom a British

²⁶⁾ functionary ist jeder, der mit einem öffentlichen Amte bekleidet ist. ²⁷⁾ device, eine schlaue ersonnene, klug durchdachte Einrichtung. ²⁸⁾ Die Präposition „by“ hat hier nicht eine örtliche Bedeutung, sondern sie bezeichnet die Art und Weise. Vgl. by the way of France, by Ostend = (via Ostend.) ²⁹⁾ In „to estrange“ allein ist der Vokalsvorschlag (frz. étranger, fremd) beibehalten, der in stranger, der Fremde, strange, fremd und seltsam, to strange at, sich wundern über, verloren gegangen ist. ³⁰⁾ to mix wird, wie die Verben setzen, stellen, legen, mit der Präposition „in“ verbunden, weil der Engländer sich nicht die Bewegung nach einem Ort, sondern das Niederlassen an einem Orte vorstellt. ³¹⁾ Das relative Adverb „as“ genügt nicht, wenn Beziehung auf ein Substantiv stattfindet; das demonstrative Adjektiv such darf in diesem Falle nicht fehlen. ³²⁾ to live „on,“ weil das, wovon jemand lebt, als die Grundlage gedacht wird, auf der das Leben fortbesteht.

resident ³³⁾ gives, under the name of advice, commands which are not to be disputed. There is still a Mogul,* who is permitted to play at holding courts ³⁴⁾ and receiving petitions, but who has less power to help or hurt than the youngest civil servant of the Company.

Clive's voyage ³⁵⁾ was unusually tedious even for that age. The ship remained some months at the Brazils, ³⁶⁾ where the young adventurer picked up some knowledge of Portuguese and spent all his pocket-money. He did not arrive in India till more than a year after he had left England. His situation at Madras was most painful. His funds were exhausted. His pay was small. He had contracted debts. He was wretchedly lodged, no small calamity in a climate which can be made tolerable to an ³⁷⁾ European only by spacious and well-placed apartments. He had been furnished with letters of recommendation to a gentleman who might ³⁸⁾ have assisted him; but when he landed at Fort St. George he found that this gentleman had sailed for ³⁹⁾ England. The lad's shy and haughty disposition withheld ⁴⁰⁾ him from introducing himself to strangers. He was several months in India before he became acquainted with a single family. The climate affected his health and spirits. ⁴¹⁾ His duties were of a kind ill suited to his ardent and daring character. He pined ⁴²⁾ for his

³³⁾ resident (wörtlich „der Ansässige“) ist der bevollmächtigte Geschäftsträger eines Hofes, welcher an dem betr. Orte seinen bleibenden Wohnsitz hat. ³⁴⁾ courts könnte heissen: Gerichtssitzungen; to hold courts bedeutet aber bei M. in der Regel: einen Hofstaat unterhalten. ³⁵⁾ voyage Seereise, journey Landreise, travel das Umherreisen (daher traveller, der Reisende). ³⁶⁾ spr. brazèls. ³⁷⁾ an European: Macaulay wendet stets vor anlautenden ū, eu, ew die Form an des unbestimmten Artikels an. ³⁸⁾ können wäre als Uebersetzung für might hier nicht zutreffend, da es die Fähigkeit zu helfen ausdrücken würde (engl. could), während might die Hülfe als eine Möglichkeit, als etwas vielleicht Eintretendes bezeichnet. ³⁹⁾ Die Präposition for bezeichnet das Ziel der Bewegung bei to sail, to set out, to depart (frz. partir pour) und bound for; vgl. damit: to hope for, to pine for (weiter unten) etc. ⁴⁰⁾ In withhold, ebenso wie in withstand, withdraw, hat die Präposition with (deutsch wider) ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung beibehalten. ⁴¹⁾ spirits bezeichnet den Zustand lebhafter geistiger Beweglichkeit, daher: Lebhaftigkeit, Muth, Eifer, Frohsinn, geistige Frische. Der Singular spirit (siehe folgende Seite) hat dieselben Bedeutungen, doch soll er bisweilen auf die einheitlich treibende Kraft aller geistigen Bewegung hinweisen und ist dann durch Geist zu übersetzen. ⁴²⁾ to pine (deutsch: Pein) sich schmerzlich sehnen.

home, and in his letters to his relations expressed his feelings in language softer and more pensive than we should have expected either from the waywardness of his boyhood, or from the inflexible sternness of his later years. „I have not enjoyed;“ says he, „one happy day since I left my native country,“ and again, „I must confess, at intervals, when I think of my dear native England, it affects me in a very particular manner If I should be so far blessed as to visit⁴³⁾ again my own country, but more especially Manchester, the centre of all my wishes, all that I could hope or desire for would be presented before me in one view.“

One solace he found of the most respectable kind. The Governor possessed a good library, and permitted Clive to have access to it. The young man devoted much of his leisure to reading, and acquired at this time almost all the knowledge⁴⁴⁾ of books that he ever possessed. As a boy he had been too idle, as a man he soon became too busy, for literary pursuits.

But neither climate nor poverty, neither study nor the sorrows of a home-sick *exile*, could tame the desperate audacity of his spirit. He behaved to his official superiors as he had behaved to his schoolmasters, and was several times in danger of losing his situation. Twice, while residing in the Writers' Buildings, he attempted to destroy himself; and twice the pistol which he snapped⁴⁵⁾ at his own head failed⁴⁶⁾ to go off. This circumstance, it is said, affected him as a similar escape affected Wallenstein.* After satisfying himself that the pistol was really well loaded, he burst forth into an⁴⁷⁾ exclamation that surely he was reserved for something great.

⁴³⁾ as to visit: Der Infinitiv mit „as to“ tritt ein für den Konsekutivsatz, wenn Haupt- und Nebensatz dasselbe Subject haben. Es ist dabei gleichgültig, ob die Folge eine thatsächlich eingetretene oder, wie hier, eine bloß vorausgesetzte ist. ⁴⁴⁾ knowledge bezeichnet „das Wissen,“ ist daher nicht im Plural gebräuchlich. ⁴⁵⁾ to snap (deutsch schnappen), a) schnappend fassen, erschnappen, b) abschnappen lassen (den Hahn eines Gewehres), abdrücken. ⁴⁶⁾ to fail (frz. faillir): nicht Erfolg haben, verfehlen. ⁴⁷⁾ Der unbestimmte Artikel hier und in ähnlichen Wendungen lässt sich nicht aus einem allgemeinen Gesetze erklären. Er ist auf die Neigung zurückzuführen, bei den Substantiven für gewisse Arten des Zustandes oder der Empfindung den unbestimmten Artikel anzuwenden.

About this time an event which at first seemed likely⁴⁸⁾ to destroy all his hopes in life suddenly opened before him a new path to eminence. Europe had been, during some years, distracted by the war of the Austrian succession.* George the Second* was the steady ally of Maria Thēresa. The house of Bourbon took the opposite side. Though England was even then the first of maritime powers, she was not, as she has since become, more than a match⁴⁹⁾ on the sea for all the nations of the world together; and she found it⁵⁰⁾ difficult to maintain a contest against the united navies of France and Spain. In the Eastern seas France obtained the ascendancy. Labourdonnais, governor of Mauritius,⁵¹⁾ a man of eminent talents and virtues, conducted an expedition to the continent of India in spite of the opposition of the British fleet, landed, assembled an army, appeared before Madrás, and compelled the town and fort to capitulate. The keys were delivered up; the French colours were displayed on Fort St. George; and the contents of the Company's warehouses were seized as prize of war by the conquerors. It was stipulated by the capitulation that the English inhabitants should be prisoners of war on parole, and that the town should remain in the hands of the French till it should⁵²⁾ be ransomed. Labourdonnais pledged his honour that only a moderate ransom should be required.

But the success of Labourdonnais had awakened the jealousy of his countryman, Dupleix,* governor of Pondicherry.⁵³⁾ Dupleix, moreover, had already begun to revolve gigantic schemes, with which the restoration of Madras to the English was by no means compatible. He declared that Labourdonnais had gone beyond his powers;⁵⁴⁾ that conquests made by

⁴⁸⁾ Das Adjectiv likely ist in der Bedeutung ähnlich aufzufassen; to seem likely to daher: so scheinen als ob, sich anlassen als ob ⁴⁹⁾ a match for sbd. ist einer von gleicher Mache, bezogen auf seine Stärke; to be a match for daher: jemandem gleichkommen (an Stärke), ihm gewachsen sein. ⁵⁰⁾ Die Hindeutung auf einen folgenden (vollständigen oder verkürzten) Objektsatz durch das Pronomen it ist im Allgemeinen nicht gestattet. Doch darf „it“ nicht fehlen, sobald es zu gleicher Zeit Beziehungswort eines Adjectivs (hier difficult) ist. ⁵¹⁾ spr. Mawrīshius. ⁵²⁾ should steht für alle Personen des Konditionals in Relativsätzen, Konditionalsätzen und allen den Nebensätzen, die gleiches Subjekt mit dem Hauptsatze haben. Die Möglichkeit, dass es das Sollen ausdrücken könne, ist in diesen Fällen ausgeschlossen. ⁵³⁾ spr. Pondisherry. ⁵⁴⁾ the powers, die übertragenen Gewalten, die Vollmacht.

the French arms on the continent of India were at the disposal of the governor of Pondicherry alone; and that Madras should be rased to the ground. Labourdonnais was compelled to yield. The anger⁵⁵⁾ which the breach of the capitulation excited among the English was increased by the ungenerous manner in which Dupleix treated the principal servants of the Company. The Governor and several of the first gentlemen⁵⁶⁾ of Fort St. George were carried under a guard to Pondicherry, and conducted through the town in a triumphal procession under the eyes of fifty thousand spectators. It was with reason thought that this gross violation of public faith absolved the inhabitants of Madras from the engagements into which they had entered with Labourdonnais. Clive fled from the town by night in the disguise of a Mussulman, and took refuge at Fort St. David, one of the small English settlements subordinate to Madras.

II.

Clive als Fähnrich.

Politische Lage Indiens um 1750.

The circumstances in which he was now placed naturally led him to adopt¹⁾ a profession better suited to his restless and intrepid spirit than the business of examining packages and casting²⁾ accounts. He solicited and obtained an ensign's commission³⁾ in the service of the Company, and at twenty-one entered on his military career. His personal courage, of

⁵⁵⁾ spr. ángher, da das Wort germanischen Ursprunges ist (deutsch enge, Angst.) ⁵⁶⁾ gentleman a) urspr. der Adelige (frz. gentilhomme), b) der durch Geburt oder hohe Stellung sich Auszeichnende, c) der Mann von Anstand und feinen Manieren, d) Gattungsname für das männliche Geschlecht, deutsch Herr.

¹⁾ Das Annehmen, Sichaneignen im übertragenen Sinne bezeichnet der Engländer entweder durch to adopt (als Sohn annehmen) oder durch to espouse (zur Gattin nehmen). ²⁾ to cast, a) werfen, b) hinwerfen, entwerfen, aufsetzen (eine Zeichnung, einen Plan, eine Berechnung). ³⁾ commission, a) die Kommission, b) der Auftrag, die Vollmacht, c) die übertragene Stelle und Würde.

which he had, while still a writer, given signal proof by a desperate duel with a military bully who was the terror of Fort St. David, speedily made him conspicuous even among hundreds of brave men. He soon began to show in his new calling other qualities which had not before been discerned in him, judgment,⁴⁾ sagacity, deference to legitimate authority. He distinguished himself highly in several operations against the French, and was particularly noticed by Major Lawrence, who was then considered as the ablest British officer in India.

Clive had been only a few months in the army when intelligence arrived that peace had been concluded between Great Britain and France.* Dupleix⁵⁾ was in consequence compelled to restore Madras to the English Company; and the young ensign was at liberty to resume his former business. He did⁶⁾ indeed return for a short time to his desk. He again quitted it in order to assist Major Lawrence in some petty hostilities with the natives, and then again returned to it. While he was thus wavering between a military and a commercial life, events took place which decided his choice. The politics⁷⁾ of India assumed a new aspect. There was peace between the English and French Crowns;⁸⁾ but there arose between the English and French Companies trading to the East a war most eventful and important, a war in which the prize⁹⁾ was nothing less than the magnificent inheritance of the house of Tamerlane.*

The empire which Baber and his Mögüls reared in the sixteenth century was long one of the most extensive and splendid in the world. In no European kingdom was so large a population subject to a single prince, or so large¹⁰⁾ a *révenue* poured into the treasury. The beauty and magnificence of

⁴⁾ spr. *júdge-ment*. ⁵⁾ spr. *Duplé*, mit franz. *Laut*. ⁶⁾ *did* ist hier emphatisch gebraucht, so dass die Hervorhebung doppelten Ausdruck findet, in *did* und dem Adverb *indeed*. ⁷⁾ *politics*, die Politik als durchdachtes System oder als Wissenschaft; *policy*, die Politik als einmaliges schlaues Verfahren, gleichbedeutend mit *device*, *contrivance*. — *polity*, Staatsverfassung. ⁸⁾ *the English and French Crowns*. Der Plural findet sich hier im Englischen, weil durch die beiden Adjektive zwei verschiedene Einheiten bezeichnet werden. Derselbe Grund hat auch den Plural *Companies* veranlasst. ⁹⁾ Zu unterscheiden sind zwei Substantive *prize*; das erste bedeutet der Preis, die ausgesetzte Belohnung (frz. *le prix*, lat. *pretium*), das zweite die *Prise*, das eingebrachte Schiff (frz. *la prise*, zu *pris*, *prise*, part. praet. von *prendre*). ¹⁰⁾ Bei Wörtern, welche die Vorstellung der Menge oder Zahl wachrufen, bezeichnet das Adjektiv *large* die Grösse.

the buildings erected by the sovereigns of Híndostan, amazed even travellers who had seen St. Peter's.¹¹⁾ The innumerable rétinues and gorgeous decorations which surrounded the throne of Délhī dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles.¹²⁾ Some of the great viceroys who held their posts by virtue of commissions from the Mogul ruled as many subjects as the King of France or the Emperor of Germany. Even the deputies of these deputies might well rank, as to extent of territory and amount¹³⁾ of revenue, with the Grand Duke of Túscany, or the Éléctor of Saxony.

There can be little doubt that this great empire, powerful and prosperous as¹⁴⁾ it appears on a superficial view, was yet, even in its best days, far worse governed than the worst governed parts of Europe now are. The administration was tainted with all the vices of Oriental despotism and with all the vices inseparable from the domination of race over race. The conflicting pretensions of the princes of the royal house produced a long sèriēs of crimes and public disasters. Ambitious lieutenants¹⁵⁾ of the sovereign sometimes aspired to independence. Fierce tribes of Híndōos, impatient of a foreign yoke, frequently withheld tribute, repelled the armies of the government from the mountain fastnesses, and poured down in arms on the cultivated plains. In spite, however, of much constant maladministration, in spite of occasional convulsions which shook the whole frame of society, this great monarchy, on the whole, retained, during some generations, an outward appearance of unity, majesty, and energy. But throughout the long reign of Aurungzebe,*¹⁶⁾ the state, notwithstanding all that the vigour and policy of the prince could effect, was hastening to dissolution. After his death, which took place in the year 1707, the ruin was fearfully rapid. Violent shocks from without co-operated with an incurable decay which was fast proceeding within; and in a few years the empire had undergone utter decomposition.

The history of the successors of Theodosius *bears no small analogy to that of the successors of Aurungzebe. But perhaps

¹¹⁾ Cathedral ist zu ergänzen. ¹²⁾ spr. vërsàles. ¹³⁾ to amount (ansteigen, frz. monter), sich belaufen auf; the amount das Hinansteigen, die Höhe (einer Summe). ¹⁴⁾ as hinter einem Adjectiv oder Adverb der Art und Weise ist als Ausdruck der Einräumung anzusehen. ¹⁵⁾ spr. lëvténänt. ¹⁶⁾ spr. òrungzèeb.

the fall of the Carlovings furnishes the nearest parallel to the fall of the Moguls. Charlemagne¹⁷⁾ was scarcely interred when the imbecility and the disputes of his descendants began to bring contempt on themselves and destruction on their subjects. The wide dominion of the Franks was severed into a thousand pieces. Nothing more than a nominal dignity was left to the abject heirs of an illustrious name, Charles the Bald, and Charles the Fat, and Charles the Simple.* Fierce invaders, differing from each other in race, language, and religion, flocked, as if by concert, from the farthest corners of the earth, to plunder provinces which the government could no longer defend. The pirates of the Northern Sea extended their ravages from the Elbe to the Pyrenées, and at length fixed their seat in the rich valley of the Seine.¹⁸⁾ The Hungarian,* in whom the trembling monks fancied¹⁹⁾ that they recognised the Gog or Magog* of prophecy, carried back the plunder of the cities of Lombardy to the depths of the Pannonian forests. The Saracen* ruled in Sicily, desolated the fertile plains of Campania, and spread terror even to the walls of Rome. In the midst of these sufferings, a great internal change passed upon²⁰⁾ the empire. The corruption of death began to ferment into new forms of life. While the great body, as a whole, was torpid and passive, every separate member began to feel with a sense,²¹⁾ and to move with an energy all its own.²²⁾ Just here, in the most barren and dreary tract of European history,²³⁾ all feudal privileges; all modern nobility, take their source. It is to this point that we trace the power of those princes, who, nominally vassals, but really independent, long governed, with the titles of dukes, marquesses²⁴⁾ and counts, almost every part of the dominions which had obeyed Charlemagne.

Such or nearly such was the change which passed on the Mogul empire during the forty years which followed the death

¹⁷⁾ spr. sharlmàne. ¹⁸⁾ spr. sàne. ¹⁹⁾ to fancy (zu Phantasie), eine thörichte, grillenhafte Vorstellung haben; the fancy, die Grille, die Laune; die Phantasie als das Vorstellungsvermögen dagegen imagination. ²⁰⁾ to pass upon, herabkommen auf. ²¹⁾ the sense a) der Sinn im Allgemeinen, b) der Gefühlsinn, das Empfinden, c) good sense, gesunder Menschenverstand. ²²⁾ all its own ist als verkürzter Relativsatz anzusehen, für which were all its own. ²³⁾ European ist nicht als unterscheidendes Adjektiv anzusehen; European history bezeichnet einen einheitlichen Begriff, der hier, in seiner Allgemeinheit vorgestellt, den Artikel nicht duldet. ²⁴⁾ spr. márkwëssës.

of Aurungzebe. A succession of nominal sovereigns,²⁵⁾ sunk in indolence and debauchery, sauntered²⁶⁾ away life in secluded palaces, chewing²⁷⁾ bang,²⁸⁾ fondling concubines, and listening to buffoons. A succession of ferocious invaders descended through the western passes, to prey on the defenceless wealth of Hindostan. A Persian conqueror* crossed the Indus, marched through the gates of Delhi, and bore away in triumph those treasures of which the magnificence had astounded Roe* and Bernier,* the Peacock Throne,* on which the richest jewels of Golconda had been disposed by the most skilful hands of Europe, and the inestimable Mountain of Light, which, after many strange vicissitudes, lately shone in the bracelet of Runjeet Sing, and is now destined to adorn the hideous idol of Orissa. The Afghan* soon followed to complete the work of devastation which the Persian had begun. The warlike tribes of Rajpootana*²⁹⁾ threw off the Mussulman yoke. A band of mercenary soldiers occupied Rōhilcūd.* The Sèiks* ruled on the Indus. The Jauts* spread dismay along the Jumna.* The highlands which border on the western sea-coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race, a race which was long the terror of every native power, and which, after many desperate and doubtful struggles, yielded only to the fortune and genius³⁰⁾ of England. It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that this wild clan³¹⁾ of plunderers first descended from their mountains; and soon after his death, every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the Mahráttas.* Many fertile viceroyalties were entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poónah,* at Guálíor,* in Guzerát, in Berár, and in Tanjore.³²⁾ Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still retained the predatory habits of their fore-

²⁵⁾ spr. súvērins. ²⁶⁾ spr. sànter, mit deutschem a-Laut. ²⁷⁾ spr. choo. ²⁸⁾ bang (auch bangué) ist das Blatt einer indischen Hanfart, welche als Betäubungsmittel dient. ²⁹⁾ spr. Rajpootána, jedes a hier, wie in allen indischen Eigennamen, mit deutschem a-Laute. ³⁰⁾ genius, a) der Schutzgeist, b) der Geist (des Menschen), die hohe geistige Befähigung, die geistige Ueberlegenheit, c) der Mann von Geist, das Genie. ³¹⁾ clan ist die in Folge gemeinschaftlichen Ursprunges zusammengehörige Menge, also Stamm, Sippschaft; a band kann aus den verschiedensten Elementen zusammengesetzt sein. ³²⁾ In indischen Eigennamen sind den Vokalen e und u die deutschen Laute beizulegen; Schluss-e ist stumm.

fathers. Every region which was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettledrums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighbourhood of the hyæna and the tiger. Many provinces redeemed³³⁾ their harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious black-mail.³⁴⁾ The camp-fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi. Another, at the head of his innumerable cavalry, descended year after year on the ricefields of Bengal. Even the European factors trembled for their magazines.³⁵⁾ Less than a hundred years ago, it was thought necessary to fortify Calcutta against the horsemen of Berâr; and the name of the Mahratta ditch still preserves the memory of the danger.

Wherever the viceroys of the Mogul retained authority they became sovereigns. They might still acknowledge in words the superiority of the house of Tamerlane; as a Count of Flanders or a Duke of Burgundy might have acknowledged the superiority of the most helpless driveller among the later Carovingians. They might occasionally send to their titular sovereign a complimentary present, or solicit from him a title of honour. In truth, however, they were no longer³⁶⁾ lieutenants removable at pleasure, but independent hereditary princes. In this way originated those great Mussulman houses which formerly ruled Bengal and the Carnatic, and those which still, though in a state of vassalage, exercise some of the powers of royalty at Lucknow* and Hyderabad.*

In what was this confusion to end? Was the strife to continue during centuries? Was it to terminate in the rise of another great monarchy? Was the Mussulman or the Mahratta to be the Lord³⁷⁾ of India? Was another Baber to descend from the mountains, and to lead the hardy tribes of Cabul*³⁸⁾

³³⁾ to redeem (wörtlich: zurückkaufen, lat. redimere), 1) loskaufen, durch Loskauf retten; 2) erlösen überhaupt. ³⁴⁾ black-mail (schwarze Rente), Schutzgeld, wurde die jährliche Rente genannt, durch welche sich bis zum Jahre 1745 die Tiefländer Sicherheit vor den Raubzügen der schottischen Hochländer erkaufen mussten. ³⁵⁾ spr. mägäzene. ³⁶⁾ no longer (nicht mehr), ist temporal, no more quantitativ. ³⁷⁾ master, Herr, Gebieter; Lord, Oberherr. Während master nur das Verhältniss zu den Untergebenen ins Auge fasst, schliesst Lord zugleich den Begriff der höchsten Würde ein. ³⁸⁾ spr. Cabool.

and Chōrasán* against a wealthier and less warlike race? None of these events seemed improbable. But scarcely any man, however sagacious, would have thought it possible that a trading company, separated from India by fifteen thousand miles of sea, and possessing in India only a few acres for purposes³⁹⁾ of commerce, would, in less than a hundred years, spread its empire from Cape Cómorin to the eternal snow of the Hima-layas;⁴⁰⁾ would compel Mahratta and Māhómmedan to forget their mutual feuds in common subjection; would tame down even those wild races which had resisted the most powerful of the Moguls; and, having united under its laws a hundred millions of subjects, would carry its victorious arms far to the east of the Burrampōoter, and far to the west of the Hūdáspes,* dictate terms of peace at the gates of Áva,* and seat its vassal on the throne of Candahār.*

The man who first saw that it was possible to found an European empire on the ruins of the Mogul monarchy was Dupleix. His restless, capacious, and inventive mind had formed this scheme,⁴¹⁾ at a time when the ablest servants of the English Company were busied only about invoices and bills of lading. Nor had he only proposed to himself the end. He had also a just and distinct view of the means by which it was to be attained. He clearly saw that the greatest force which the princes of India could bring into the field would be no match for a small body of men trained in the discipline, and guided by the tactics, of the West. He saw also that the natives of India might, under European commanders, be formed into armies, such as Saxe* or Frederic would be proud to command. He was perfectly aware that the most easy and convenient way in which an European adventurer could exercise sovereignty in India, was to govern the motions, and to speak through the mouth of some glittering puppet dignified by the title of Nàbob or Nízám. The arts both of war and policy, which a few years later were employed with such signal success by the English, were first understood and practised by this ingenious and aspiring Frenchman.

The situation of India was such that scarcely any aggression could be without a pretext, either in old laws or in recent practice. All rights were in a state of utter uncertainty; and the Europeans who took part in the disputes of the na-

³⁹⁾ spr. pūrpūsses. ⁴⁰⁾ spr. hīmalà-yas, mit deutschen a-Lauten.
⁴¹⁾ spr. skème.

tives confounded the confusion, by applying to Asiatic politics the public law of the West and analogies drawn from the feudal system. If it was convenient to treat a Nabob as an independent prince, there was an excellent plea for doing so. He was independent in fact. If it was convenient to treat him as a mere deputy of the Court of Delhi, there was no difficulty; for he was so in theory. If it was convenient to consider his office as an hereditary dignity, or as a dignity held during life only, or as a dignity held only during the good pleasure⁴²⁾ of the Mogul, arguments and précédents might be found for every one of those views. The party who had the heir of Baber in their hands represented him as the undoubted, the legitimate, the absolute sovereign, whom all subordinate authorities were bound to obey. The party against whom his name was used did not want plausible pretexts for maintaining that the empire was *de facto* dissolved, and that, though it might be decent to treat the Mogul with respect, as a venerable relic of an order of things which had passed away, it was absurd to regard him as the real master of Hindostan.

In the year 1748, died one of the most powerful of the new masters of India, the great Nizam al Mulk, Viceroy of the Deccan. His authority descended to his son, Nazir Jung. Of the provinces subject to this high functionary, the Carnatic was the wealthiest and the most extensive. It⁴³⁾ was governed by an ancient Nabob, whose name the English corrupted into Anaverdy Khan.

But there were pretenders to the government both of the viceroyalty and of the subordinate province. Mirzaphà Jung, a grandson of Nizam al Mulk, appeared as the competitor of Nàzir Jung. Chunda Sahib, son-in-law of a former Nabob of the Carnatic, disputed the title⁴⁴⁾ of Anaverdy Khan. In the unsettled⁴⁵⁾ state of Indian law, it was easy for both Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Sahib to make out something like a claim of right. In a society altogether⁴⁶⁾ disorganized, they had no

⁴²⁾ pleasure nimmt in der Bedeutung „das Belieben“ gern good zu sich. ⁴³⁾ the Carnatic ist eine Provinz (of the provinces etc.), nicht ein Land, daher nicht feminin. Man behandelt einen Ländernamen als Feminin, wenn man das Land als politische Macht anschaut, also nicht als bloß geographische Einheit. ⁴⁴⁾ title, a) Titel, b) Berechtigung, Anspruch; vgl. to be entitled to. ⁴⁵⁾ unsettled (nicht festgesetzt), nicht in feste Form gebracht, unfest. ⁴⁶⁾ altogether ist, entsprechend dem deutschen ganz, zunächst sammelnd (alles zusammen), daneben aber auch adverbial verstärkend.

difficulty in finding greedy adventurers to follow⁴⁷⁾ their standards. They united their interests, invaded the Carnatic, and applied for assistance to the French, whose fame had been raised by their success against the English in the recent war on the coast of Cōrōmandél.

Nothing could have happened more pleasing to the subtle⁴⁸⁾ and ambitious Dupleix. To make a Nabob of the Carnatic, to make a Viceroy of the Deccan, to rule under their names the whole⁴⁹⁾ of southern India;⁵⁰⁾ this was indeed an attractive prospect. He allied himself with the pretenders, and sent four hundred French soldiers, and two thousand sèpoys,⁵¹⁾ disciplined after the European fashion, to the assistance of his confederates. A battle was fought. The French distinguished themselves greatly. Anaverdy Khan was defeated and slain. His son, Māhommed Ali, who was afterwards well known in England as the Nabob of Arcót,* and who owes to the eloquence of Burke* a most unenviable immortality, fled with a scanty remnant of his army to Trichinópolis;⁵²⁾ and the conquerors became at once masters of almost every part of the Carnatic.

This was but the beginning of the greatness of Dupleix. After some months of fighting, negotiation, and intrigue,⁵³⁾ his ability and good fortune seemed to have prevailed every where. Nazir Jung perished by the hands of his own followers; Mirzapha Jung was master of the Deccan; and the triumph of French arms and French policy was complete. At Pondicherry all was exultation and festivity. Salutes were fired from the batteries, and *Te Deum* sung in the churches. The new Nizam came thither to visit his allies; and the ceremony of his installation was performed there with great pomp. Dupleix, dressed in the garb worn by Mahomedans of the highest rank, entered the town in the same palanquin⁵⁴⁾ with the

⁴⁷⁾ Der Infinitiv to follow ist hier als attributive Bestimmung zu adventurers anzusehen, er ist nicht abhängig von greedy. Der attributive Infinitiv involvirt die Vorstellung der Bestimmung oder Befähigung (des Sollens oder Könnens). ⁴⁸⁾ spr. sùttle. ⁴⁹⁾ whole wird, besonders wenn auf den Umfang mit Nachdruck hingewiesen werden soll, lieber substantivisch als adjektivisch gebraucht. ⁵⁰⁾ southern India hier ein Begriff, eine einheitliche Vorstellung (= the Deccan). ⁵¹⁾ sepoys (auch sèapoys) korrumpirt aus dem indischen sepahis, ist die Bezeichnung für eingeborene indische Soldaten. ⁵²⁾ spr. ch mit engl. Laute (= deutsches tsch). Webster will ch in diesem Worte wie k gesprochen wissen. ⁵³⁾ spr. intrèeg. ⁵⁴⁾ spr. palankène.

Nizam, and, in the pageant which followed, took precedence of all the court. He was declared Governor of India from the river Kristna to Cape Cómorin, a country about as large as France, with authority superior even to that of Chunda Sahib. He was intrusted with the command of seven thousand cavalry. It was announced that no mint would be suffered to exist in the Carnatic except that at Pondicherry.* A large portion of the treasures which former Viceroys of the Deccan had accumulated found its way into the coffers of the French governor. It was rumoured that he had received two hundred thousand pounds sterling⁵⁵⁾ in money, besides many valuable jewels. In fact, there could scarcely be any limit to his gains. He now ruled thirty millions of people with almost absolute power. No honour or emolument could be obtained from the government but by his intervention. No petition, unless signed by him, was perused by the Nizam.

Mirzapha Jung survived his elevation only a few months. But another prince of the same house was raised to the throne by French influence, and ratified all the promises of his predecessor. Dupleix was now the greatest pòtentate in India. His countrymen boasted that his name was mentioned with awe even in the chambers of the palace of Delhi. The native population looked with amazement on the progress which, in the short space of four years, an European adventurer had made towards dominion⁵⁶⁾ in Asia. Nor was the vain-glorious Frenchman content with the reality of power. He loved to display his greatness with arrogant ostentation before the eyes of his subjects and of his rivals. Near the spot where his policy had obtained its chief triumph, by the fall of Nazir Jung and the elevation of Mirzapha, he determined to erect a column, on the four sides of which four pompous inscriptions, in four languages, should proclaim his glory to all the nations of the East. Medals stamped with emblems of his successes were buried beneath the foundations of this stately pillar, and round it arose a town bearing the haughty name

⁵⁵⁾ sterling (aus Easterling, im frühen Mittelalter eine volksthümliche Benennung deutscher Kaufleute von der Ostsee, deren Geld sich durch Gediegenheit auszeichnete; dann weiterhin: reines, unverfälschtes, vollgültiges Geld) dient jetzt nur zur Bezeichnung des englischen Geldwerthes. ⁵⁶⁾ domination, Herrschaft als Thätigkeit oder Art und Weise des Herrschens; dominion, die Herrschaft, die höchste Gewalt als etwas Zuständliches, als Besitz; daneben das beherrschte Gebiet.

of Dupleix Fatihabád, which is, being interpreted, the City of the Victory of Dupleix.

The English had made some feeble and irresolute attempts to stop the rapid and brilliant career of the rival Company, and continued to recognise Mahommed Ali as Nabob of the Carnatic. But the dominions of Mahommed Ali consisted of Trichinopoly alone; and Trichinópolis was now invested by Chunda Sahib and his French auxiliaries. To raise the siege seemed impossible. The small force which was then at Madras had no commander. Major Lawrence had returned to England; and not a single officer of established⁵⁷⁾ character remained in the settlement. The natives had learned to look with contempt on the mighty nation which was soon to conquer and to rule them. They had seen the French colours flying on Fort St. George; they had seen the chiefs of the English factory led in triumph through the streets of Pondicherry; they had seen the arms and counsels of Dupleix everywhere successful, while the opposition which the authorities of Madras had made to his progress, had served only to expose their own weakness, and to heighten his glory. At this moment, the valour and genius of an obscure English youth suddenly turned the tide of fortune.

III.

Clive zum zweiten Male Soldat. Kampf der Engländer mit den Franzosen um die Herrschaft in Indien.

1750—1753.

Clive was now twenty-five years old. After hesitating for some time between a military and a commercial life, he had at length been placed in a post which partook of both characters, that of commissary¹⁾ to the troops, with the rank of captain. The present emergency²⁾ called forth all his powers. He represented to his superiors that, unless some vigorous effort

⁵⁷⁾ established, festgesetzt, fest begründet: daher figürlich erprobt.

¹⁾ commissary, a) der Beauftragte überhaupt, b) speciell der mit der Besorgung des Proviant's Beauftragte, der Proviantmeister. ²⁾ emergency, a) das Auftauchen, b) die (auftauchende, gerade eingetretene) Lage der Dinge.

were made, Trichinopoly would fall, the House of Anaverdy Khan would perish, and the French would become the real masters of the whole peninsula of India. It was absolutely necessary to strike some daring blow. If an attack were made on Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and the favourite residence of the Nabobs, it was not impossible that the siege of Trichinopoly would be raised. The heads of the English settlement, now thoroughly alarmed by the success of Dupleix, and apprehensive that, in the event³⁾ of a new war between France and Great Britain, Madras would be instantly taken and destroyed, approved of Clive's plan, and intrusted the execution of it to himself. The young captain was put at the head of two hundred English soldiers, and three hundred sepoys armed and disciplined after the European fashion. Of the eight officers who commanded this little force under him, only two had ever been in action, and four of the eight were factors of the company, whom Clive's example had induced to offer their services. The weather was stormy; but Clive pushed on, through thunder, lightning, and rain, to the gates of Arcot. The garrison, in a panic, evacuated the fort, and the English entered it without a⁴⁾ blow.

But Clive well knew that he⁵⁾ should not be suffered to retain undisturbed possession of his conquest. He instantly began to collect provisions, to throw up works, and to make preparations for sustaining a siege. The garrison, which had fled at his approach, had now recovered from its dismay, and, having been swollen by large reinforcements from the neighbourhood to a force of three thousand men, encamped close to the town. At dead⁶⁾ of night, Clive marched out of the fort, attacked the camp by surprise, slew great numbers, dispersed the rest, and returned to his quarters without having lost a single man.

The intelligence of these events was soon carried to

³⁾ event (das Herauskommen), a) das (eingetretene) Ereigniss, die Begebenheit; b) der (eingetretene, herausgekommene) Erfolg; c) der (möglicherweise eintretende) Fall. ⁴⁾ Die Form des unbestimmten Artikels wird oft, und bei Macaulay besonders häufig, als Zahlwort gebraucht: ohne einen einzigen Schlag. ⁵⁾ Wie das Akkusativobjekt Subjekt einer passiven Konstruktion werden kann, so auch der Akkusativ in der Konstruktion des Akkusativ mit dem Infinitiv. Dies hat zu geschehen, wenn das Verbum, welches den Akkusativ mit dem Infinitiv bedingt, in die passive Form tritt; der Infinitiv bleibt unberührt. ⁶⁾ dead, der mit dem Tode eintretende Zustand: Todesstille, Todesruhe.

Chunda Sahib, who, with his French allies, was besieging Trichinopoly. He immediately detached four thousand men from his camp, and sent them to Arcot. They were speedily joined by the remains of the force which Clive had lately ⁷⁾ scattered. They were further strengthened by two thousand men from Vellòre,* and by a still more important reinforcement of a hundred and fifty French soldiers whom Dupleix despatched from Pondicherry. The whole of this army, amounting to about ten thousand men, was under the command of Rajah Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib.

Rajah Sahib proceeded to invest the fort of Arcot, which seemed quite incapable of sustaining a siege. The walls were ruinous, the ditches dry, the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns, the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The little garrison had been greatly reduced by casualties. It now consisted of a hundred and twenty Europeans and two hundred sepoy. Only four officers were left; ⁸⁾ the stock ⁹⁾ of provisions was scanty; and the commander who had to conduct the defence under circumstances so discouraging, was a young man of five-and-twenty, who had been bred a book-keeper.

During fifty days the siege went on. During fifty days the young captain maintained the defence, with a firmness, vigilance, and ability, which would have done honour to the oldest marshal in Europe. The breach, however, increased day by day. The garrison began to feel the pressure of hunger. Under such circumstances, any ¹⁰⁾ troops so scantily provided with officers might have been expected to show signs of insubordination; and the danger was peculiarly great in a force composed of men differing widely from each other in extraction, ¹¹⁾ colour, language, manners, and religion. But the devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed anything that is related of the Tenth Legion of Cæsar, or of the Old Guard of Napoleon.* The sepoy came to Clive, not to com-

⁷⁾ lately, letzthin, vor kurzem; shortly, binnen kurzem, nach kurzer Zeit. ⁸⁾ to leave, a) verlassen, b) zurücklassen, übrig lassen, c) ohne Object: weggehen. ⁹⁾ siehe I, 21. ¹⁰⁾ Das deutsche alle an dieser Stelle würde zusammenfassend sein, any ist aber unterscheidend; any troops daher: jede Mannschaft (welcher Art sie auch sein möge). ¹¹⁾ extraction, Herkunft, bezieht sich nicht auf Nationalität oder Geburtsland, sondern auf den Stand der Familie; daher: of noble extraction, of low extraction.

plain of their scanty fare, but to propose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans, who required more nourishment¹²⁾ than the natives of Asia. The thin gruel, they said, which was strained away from the rice, would suffice¹³⁾ for themselves. History contains no more touching instance of military fidelity, or of the influence of a commanding mind.¹⁴⁾

An attempt made by the government of Madras to relieve the place had failed. But there was hope from another quarter. A body of six thousand Mahrattas, half soldiers, half robbers, under the command of a chief named Morari Rōw, had been hired to assist Mahommed Ali; but thinking the French power irresistible, and the triumph of Chunda Sahib certain, they had hitherto remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. The fame of the defence of Arcot roused them from their torpor. Morari Row declared that he had never before believed that Englishmen could fight, but that he would willingly help them since he saw that they had spirit to help themselves. Rajah Sahib learned that the Mahrattas were in motion. It was necessary for him to be expeditious. He first tried negotiation. He offered large bribes¹⁵⁾ to Clive, which were rejected with scorn. He vowed that, if his proposals were not accepted, he would instantly storm the fort, and put every man in it to the sword. Clive told him in reply, with characteristic haughtiness, that his father was an usurper,¹⁶⁾ that his army was a rabble, and that he would do well to think twice before he sent such poltroons into a breach defended by English soldiers.

Rajah Sahib determined to storm the fort. The day was well suited to a bold military enterprise. It was the great Mahomedan festival which is sacred to the memory of Hosein the son of Ali.* The history of Islam contains nothing more touching than the event which gave rise to that solemnity. The mournful legend relates how the chief of the Fatimites,* when all his brave followers had perished round him, drank

¹²⁾ spr. nūrishment. ¹³⁾ spr. suffize. ¹⁴⁾ In dem Worte mind, welches sich auf das Empfinden, das Denken und das Wollen zugleich beziehen kann, ist entweder die Vorstellung des Empfindens die vorherrschende (the public mind: die Stimmung der Gemüther), oder die des Wollens (der Wille), oder endlich die des Denkens, (das Gedenken, die Erinnerung: to put in mind of...) ¹⁵⁾ bribe (eigentl. ein Stück Brod, frz. bribe) ist ein Geschenk, welches zur Bestechung dienen soll. ¹⁶⁾ vergl. I, 37.

his latest draught¹⁷⁾ of water, and uttered his latest prayer, how the assassins carried his head in triumph, how the tyrant smote the lifeless lips with his staff, and how a few old men rēcollected with tears that they had seen those lips pressed to the lips of the Prophet of God. After the lapse of near¹⁸⁾ twelve centuries, the recurrence of this solemn season excites the fiercest and saddest emotions in the bosoms of the devout Moslem of India. They work themselves up to such agonies of rage and lamentation that some, it is said, have given up the ghost from the mere effect of mental excitement. They believe that whoever, during this festival, falls in arms against the infidels, atones by his death for all the sins of his life, and passes at once to the garden of the Houris.*¹⁹⁾ It was at this time that Rajah Sahib determined to assault Arcot. Stimulating drugs were employed to aid the effect of religious zeal, and the besiegers, drunk with enthusiasm, drunk with bang, rushed furiously to the attack.

Clive had received secret intelligence of the design, had made his arrangements, and, exhausted by fatigue, had thrown himself on his bed. He was awakened by the alarm, and was instantly at his post. The enemy advanced driving before them elephants whose foreheads were armed with iron plates. It was expected that the gates would yield to the shock of these living battering-rams.²⁰⁾ But the huge beasts no sooner felt the English musket-balls than they turned round, and rushed furiously away, trampling on the multitude which had urged them forward. A raft was launched²¹⁾ on the water which filled one part of the ditch. Clive, perceiving that his gunners at that post did not understand their business, took the management of a piece of artillery²²⁾ himself, and cleared the raft in a few minutes. Where the moat was dry, the assailants mounted with great boldness; but they were received with a fire so heavy and so well-directed, that

¹⁷⁾ spr. draft, mit deutschem a-Laute. ¹⁸⁾ Das Adverb fast, beinahe (bei Zahlbegriffen) kann übersetzt werden a) durch die Präposition near, b) durch das Adverb nearly. ¹⁹⁾ spr. hōw-ris. ²⁰⁾ battering-ram (zertrümmernder Widder), Sturmbock, Mauerbrecher. ²¹⁾ to launch, spr. lanch, mit deutschem a-Laute, a) schleudern (frz. lancer), b) ins Wasser hineinlassen (besonders auf Schiffe angewandt). ²²⁾ artillery ist eine Zusammenfassung von Geschützen, das einzelne Geschütz kann also durch das blosse artillery nicht bezeichnet werden.

it soon quelled the courage even of fanaticism and of intoxication. The rear²³⁾ ranks of the English kept the front ranks supplied with a constant succession of loaded muskets, and every shot told²⁴⁾ on the living mass below. After three desperate onsets, the besiegers retired behind the ditch.

The struggle lasted about an hour. Four hundred of the assailants fell. The garrison lost only five or six men. The besieged passed an anxious night, looking for a renewal of the attack. But when day broke, the enemy were no more to be seen. They had retired, leaving to the English several guns and a large quantity of ammunition.

The news²⁵⁾ was received at Fort St. George with transports of joy and pride. Clive was justly regarded as a man equal²⁶⁾ to any command. Two hundred English soldiers, and seven hundred sepoy were sent to him, and with this force he instantly commenced offensive operations. He took the fort of Timery, effected a junction with a division of Morari Row's army, and hastened, by forced marches, to attack Rajah Sahib, who was at the head of about five thousand men, of whom three hundred were French. The action was sharp; but Clive gained a complete victory. The military chest²⁷⁾ of Rajah Sahib fell into the hands of the conquerors. Six hundred sepoy who had served in the enemy's army came over to Clive's quarters, and were taken into the British service. Conjeveram surrendered without a blow. The governor of Arnee deserted Chunda Sahib, and recognised the title of Mahommed Ali.

Had the entire direction of the war been intrusted to Clive, it would probably have been brought to a speedy close. But the timidity and incapacity which appeared in all the movements of the English, except where he was personally present, protracted the struggle. The Mahrattas muttered that his soldiers were of a different race from the British whom they found elsewhere. The effect of this languor was that in no long time Rajah Sahib, at the head of a considerable army,

²³⁾ rear, frz. *arrière*. ²⁴⁾ to tell, a) erzählen, b) zählen; wir würden sagen: jeder Schuss sass. — on (auf — herab) ist aus shot zu erklären. ²⁵⁾ news entspricht dem deutschen „Neues“, ist also kein Plural. In der Bedeutung Neues (= neue Dinge) kann es aber sehr wohl als Kollektiv aufgefasst werden, und so findet es sich auch pluralisch konstruirt. ²⁶⁾ equal, a) gleich, entsprechend, b) entsprechend dem, was eine Stellung erfordert, einer Stellung gewachsen. ²⁷⁾ military chest, Kriegskasse.

in which were four hundred French troops, appeared almost under the guns of Fort St. George and laid waste the villas and gardens of the gentlemen of the English settlement. But he was again encountered and defeated by Clive. More than a hundred of the French were killed or taken, a loss more serious than that of thousands of natives. The victorious army marched from the field of battle to Fort St. David. On the road lay the City of the Victory of Dupleix, and the stately monument which was designed to commemorate the triumphs of France in the East. Clive ordered both the city and the monument to be rased to the ground. He was induced, we believe, to take this step, not by personal or national malévolence, but by a just and profound policy. The town and its pompous name, the pillar and its vaunting inscriptions, were among the devices by which Dupleix had laid the public mind of India under a spell. This spell it was Clive's business to break. The natives had been taught that France was confessedly the first power in Europe, and that the English did not presume to dispute her supremacy. No measure could be more effectual for the removing of this delusion than the public and solemn demolition of the French trôphies.

The government of Madras, encouraged by these events, determined to send a strong detachment, under Clive, to reinforce the garrison of Trichinopoly. But just at this conjuncture,²⁸⁾ Major Lawrence arrived from England, and assumed the chief command. From the waywardness and impatience²⁹⁾ of contrôl³⁰⁾ which had characterised Clive, both at school and in the counting-house, it might have been expected that he would not, after such achievements, act with zeal and good humour in a subordinate capacity. But Lawrence had early treated him with kindness; and it is bare justice to Clive to say that, proud and overbearing as he was, kindness was never thrown away upon him. He cheerfully placed himself under the orders of his old friend, and exerted himself as strenuously in the second post as he could have done in the first.

²⁸⁾ conjuncture (die Verbindung der Zeitumstände, die gesammte Lage der Dinge), a) die Zeit, in Hinsicht auf die zusammentreffenden Verhältnisse, b) die Verhältnisse, die Gelegenheit. ²⁹⁾ impatience hat hier die ursprüngliche Bedeutung, die Eigenschaft etwas nicht zu dulden, Abscheu. ³⁰⁾ control, a) Aufsicht, b) Widerspruch, Tadel.

Lawrence well knew the value of such assistance. Though himself gifted with no intellectual faculty higher than plain good sense, he fully appreciated the powers of his brilliant coadjutor. Though he had made a methodical study of military tactics, and, like all men regularly bred to a profession, was disposed to look with disdain on interlopers, he had yet liberality³¹⁾ enough to acknowledge that Clive was an exception to common rules. „Some people,“ he wrote, „are pleased to term Captain Clive fortunate and lucky;³²⁾ but, in my opinion, from the knowledge I have of the gentleman, he deserved and might expect from his conduct every thing as it fell out; — a man of an undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and of a presence of mind which never left him in the greatest danger — born a soldier; for, without a military education of any sort, or much conversing with any of the profession, from his judgment and good sense, he led on an army like an experienced officer and a brave soldier, with a prudence that certainly warranted success.“

The French had no commander to oppose³³⁾ to the two friends. Dupleix, not inferior in talents for negotiation and intrigue to any European who has borne a part in the revolutions of India, was not qualified to direct in person military operations. He had not been bred a soldier, and had no inclination to become one. His enemies accused him of personal cowardice; and he defended himself in a strain worthy of Captain Bobadil.* He kept away from shot, he said, because silence and tranquillity were propitious to his genius, and he found it difficult to pursue his meditations amidst the noise of fire-arms. He was thus under the necessity of intrusting to others the execution of his great warlike designs; and he bitterly complained that he was ill served. He had indeed been assisted by one officer of eminent merit, the celebrated Bussy. But Bussy had marched northward with the Nizam, and was fully employed in looking after his own interests, and those of France, at the court of that prince. Among the officers who remained with Dupleix, there was

³¹⁾ liberality, a) Freigebigkeit, b) die Eigenschaft dessen, der weder durch Vorurtheile, noch durch Eigennutz in seinem Handeln geleitet wird, am besten wiederzugeben durch edle Unbefangenheit. ³²⁾ fortunate, von der Fortuna, vom Schicksal begünstigt; lucky ist derjenige, dem zufällig, ohne besonderes Verdienst alles gelingt. ³³⁾ vgl. II, 47.

not a single man of capacity; and many of them were boys, at whose ignorance and folly the common soldiers laughed.

The English triumphed every where. The besiegers of Trichinopoly were themselves besieged and compelled to capitulate. Chunda Sahib fell into the hands of the Mahrattas, and was put to death, at the instigation probably of his competitor, Mahommed Ali. The spirit of Dupleix, however, was unconquerable, and his resources inexhaustible. From his employers in Europe he no longer received help or countenance.³⁴⁾ They condemned his policy. They gave him no pecuniary assistance. They sent him for³⁵⁾ troops only the sweepings of the galleys. Yet still³⁶⁾ he persisted, intrigued, bribed, promised, lavished his private fortune, strained his credit, procured new diplomas from Delhi, raised up new enemies to the government of Madras on every side, and found tools even among the allies of the English Company. But all was in vain. Slowly, but steadily, the power of Britain continued to increase, and that of France to decline.

The health of Clive had never been good during his residence in India; and his constitution was now so much impaired that he determined to return to England. Before his departure he undertook a service of considerable difficulty, and performed it with his usual vigour and dexterity. The forts of Covelong and Chingleput were occupied by French garrisons. It was determined to send a force against them. But the only force available³⁸⁾ for this purpose was of such a description that no officer but Clive would risk his reputation by commanding it. It consisted of five hundred newly-levied sepoys, and two hundred recruits who had just landed from England, and who were the worst and lowest wretches that the Company's crimps³⁸⁾ could pick up in the flash-

³⁴⁾ countenance (frz. contenance, zu contenir), a) der Inhalt, b) das Antlitz (in Bezug auf das, was es ausdrückt), c) speciell: das freundliche Gesicht, und daher auch Ermuthigung, Aufmunterung. ³⁵⁾ for troops, als Truppen, d. h. damit sie Soldaten werden sollten (sie waren es noch nicht); as troops, in der Eigenschaft als Truppen (sie waren es bereits). ³⁶⁾ still, immer, noch, immer noch, reflektirt vorwiegend auf die lange Dauer; yet (deutsch: jetzt) vorwiegend auf das Vorhandensein des Zustandes in der Gegenwart. ³⁷⁾ available (zu: to avail, frz. valoir), die man zur Geltung bringen, deren man sich bedienen konnte. ³⁸⁾ a crimp (zu to crimp, mit schlauem Griff erfassen) ist ein Werber für die Landarmee oder die Marine.

houses³⁹⁾ of London. Clive, ill and exhausted as he was, undertook to make an army of this undisciplined rabble, and marched with them to Covelong. A shot from the fort killed one of these extraordinary⁴⁰⁾ soldiers; on which all the rest faced about⁴¹⁾ and ran away, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Clive rallied them. On another occasion, the noise of a gun terrified the sentinels so much that one of them was found, some hours later, at the bottom of a well.⁴²⁾ Clive gradually accustomed them to danger, and, by exposing himself constantly in the most perilous situations, shamed them into courage. He at length succeeded in forming a respectable force out of his unpromising materials. Covelong fell. Clive learned that a strong detachment was marching to relieve it from Chingleput. He took measures to prevent the enemy from learning that they were too late, laid an ámbuscade for them on the road, killed a hundred of them with one fire, took three hundred prisoners, pursued the fugitives to the gates of Chingleput, laid siege instantly to that fastness, reputed one of the strongest in India, made a breach, and was on the point of storming when the French commandant capitulated and retired with his men.

Clive returned to Madras victorious, but in a state of health which rendered it impossible for him to remain there long. He married at this time a young lady of the name of Máskelyne, sister of the eminent mathematician, who long held the post of Astronomer Royal. She is described as handsome and accomplished; and her husband's letters, it is said, contain proofs that he was devotedly attached to her.

³⁹⁾ flash ist die wunderliche Sprache der Gauner und Diebe, die Gaunersprache; flash-houses, Gaunerherbergen. ⁴⁰⁾ spr. extrórdinary. ⁴¹⁾ to face about, das Gesicht umwenden, Kehrt machen. ⁴²⁾ well, eigentl. ein Brunnen, bezeichnet in der Militärsprache eine brunnenartige Vertiefung, von deren Boden aus horizontale Minengänge abzweigen.

IV.

Clive in England.

1753—1755.

Almost immediately after the marriage, Clive embarked with his bride for England. He returned a very different person from the poor slighted¹⁾ boy who had been sent out ten years before to seek his fortune. He was only twenty-seven; yet his country already respected him as²⁾ one of her first soldiers. There was then general peace in Europe. The Carnatic was the only part of the world where the English and French were in arms against each other. The vast schemes of Dupleix had excited no small uneasiness in the city of London; and the rapid turn of fortune, which was chiefly owing³⁾ to the courage and talents of Clive, had been hailed with great delight. The young captain was known at the India House by the honourable nickname of General Clive, and was toasted by that appellation at the feasts of the Directors. On his arrival in England, he found himself an object of general interest and admiration. The East India Company thanked him for his services in the warmest terms, and bestowed on him a sword set with diamonds. With rare delicacy, he refused to receive this token of gratitude unless a similar compliment⁴⁾ were paid to his friend and commander, Lawrence.

It may easily be supposed that Clive was most cordially welcomed home by his family, who were delighted by his success, though they seem to have been hardly able to comprehend how their naughty idle Bobby⁵⁾ had become so great a man. His father had been singularly hard of belief. Not until the news of the defence of Arcot arrived in England was the old gentleman heard to growl out that, after all, the booby had something in him. His expressions of approbation became stronger and stronger as news arrived of one

¹⁾ slight, als Adjektiv (deutsch: schlicht, schlecht) bedeutet einfach, dürftig, gering geschätzt; to slight, gering schätzen, missachten. ²⁾ siehe III, 35. ³⁾ Die aktive Form owing ist in passiver Bedeutung (= being owed to) aufzufassen. ⁴⁾ to pay a compliment (eine Empfehlung machen, sich empfehlen, nämlich durch ein Geschenk), ein Geschenk machen. ⁵⁾ Eine zweite volkstümliche Form für Robert, als Diminutivform von Bob (siehe I, 10) anzusehen.

brilliant exploit after another; and he was at length immoderately fond and proud of his son.

Clive's relations had very substantial reasons for rejoicing at his return. Considerable sums of prize-money⁶⁾ had fallen to his share; and he had brought home a moderate fortune, part of which he expended in extricating his father from pecuniary difficulties. and in redeeming the family estate, The remainder he appears to have dissipated in the course of about two years. He lived splendidly, dressed gaily⁷⁾ even for those times, kept a carriage and saddle horses, and, not content with these ways of getting rid of his money, resorted to the most speedy and effectual of all modes of evacuation, a contested election followed by a petition⁸⁾.

At the time of the general election of 1754, the government was in a very singular state. There was scarcely any formal opposition. The Jácobītes* had been cowed by the issue of the last rebellion. The Tory party had fallen into utter contempt. It had been deserted by al the men of talents who had belonged to it, and had scarcely given a symptom of life during some years. The small faction which had been held together by the influence and promises of Prince Frederic,* had been dispersed by his death. Almost every public man of distinguished talents in the kingdom, whatever his early connections⁹⁾ might have been, was in office, and called himself a Whig. But this extraordinary appearance of concord was quite delusive. The administration itself was distracted by bitter enmities and conflicting pretensions. The chief object of its members was to depress and supplant each other. The prime minister, Nēwcastle*, weak, timid, jealous, and perfidious, was at once detested and despised by some of the most important members of his government, and by none more than by Henry Fox,* the Secretary at War*. This able, daring, and ambitious man seized every opportunity of crossing the First Lord of the Treasury*, from whom¹⁰⁾ he

⁶⁾ prize-money, Prisengeld, d. h. die für die Einbringung eines feindlichen Schiffes, und weiterhin für jede Eroberung festgesetzte Belohnungssumme; vgl. II, 9. ⁷⁾ gay (frz. gai), a) heiter, b) glänzend, prächtig. ⁸⁾ Unter petition versteht man den Protest gegen eine Parlamentswahl. Das Nähere in den Erläuterungen. ⁹⁾ connections bezeichnet hier die Beziehungen zu einer der politischen Parteien. ¹⁰⁾ from whom ist nicht abhängig von „he knew“, sondern von „to dread and to hope“. Das Objekt des abhängigen Satzes ist, um den relativen Anschluss zu ermöglichen, in den regierenden Satz attrahirt.

well knew that he had little to dread and little to hope; for Newcastle was through life equally afraid of breaking with men of parts¹¹⁾ and of promoting them.

Newcastle had set his heart on returning¹²⁾ two members for St. Michael,¹³⁾ one of those wretched Cornish boroughs* which were swept away by the Reform Act* in 1832. He was opposed by Lord Sandwich, whose influence had long been paramount there; and Fox exerted himself strenuously in Sandwich's behalf. Clive, who had been introduced to Fox, and very kindly received by him, was brought forward on the Sandwich interest, and was returned. But a petition was presented against the return, and was backed¹⁴⁾ by the whole influence of the Duke of Newcastle.

The case was heard, according to the usage of that time, before a committee of the whole House. Questions respecting elections were then considered merely as party questions. Judicial impartiality was not even affected. Sir Robert Walpole* was in the habit of saying openly that, in election battles, there ought to be no quarter. On the present occasion the excitement was great. The matter really at issue¹⁵⁾ was, not whether Clive had been properly or improperly returned, but whether Newcastle or Fox was to be master of the New House of Commons, and consequently first minister. The contest was long and obstinate, and success seemed to lean sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. Fox put forth all his rare powers of debate, beat half the lawyers in the House at their own weapons,¹⁶⁾ and carried division after division¹⁷⁾ against the whole influence of the Treasury. The committee decided in Clive's favour. But when the resolution was reported to the House, things took a different course. The remnant of the Tory Opposition, contemptible as it was, had yet sufficient weight to turn the scale between the nicely-balanced¹⁸⁾ parties of Newcastle and Fox. Newcastle the

¹¹⁾ vgl. I, 17. ¹²⁾ Man sagt in der Regel: to return to parliament, weil der Wahlakt die Erwiderung auf eine Aufforderung zur Wahl von Seiten der Regierung ist; daneben seltener: to send to parliament. ¹³⁾ spr. Mikl. ¹⁴⁾ to back, den Rücken decken, unterstützen. ¹⁵⁾ issue, der Ausgang; the matter at issue, die Sache, die auf dem Ausgange steht, die entschieden werden soll. ¹⁶⁾ spr. wépons. ¹⁷⁾ division, a) Theilung, b) speciell: das Auseinandergehen der Parteien bei der Abstimmung, die Abstimmung selbst; he carried division after division, er siegte bei jeder Abstimmung. ¹⁸⁾ nicely-balanced, genau gegen einander abgewogen, genau im Gleichgewicht befindlich.

Tories could only despise. Fox they hated, as the boldest and most subtle politician and the ablest debater among the Whigs, as the steady friend of Walpole, as the devoted adherent of the Duke of Cumberland.* After wavering till the last moment, they determined to vote in a body with the Prime Minister's friends. The consequence was that the House, by a small majority, rescinded the decision of the committee, and Clive was unseated.

Ejected from Parliament and straitened in his means, he naturally began to look again towards India. The Company and the Government were eager to avail themselves of his services. A treaty favourable to England had indeed been concluded in the Carnatic. Dupleix had been superseded, and had returned with the wreck of his immense fortune to Europe, where calumny and chicanery¹⁹⁾ soon hunted him to his grave. But many signs indicated that a war between France and Great Britain was at hand; and it was therefore thought desirable to send an able commander to the Company's settlements in India. The Directors appointed Clive governor of Fort St. David. The King gave him the commission of a lieutenant-colonel²⁰⁾ in the British army, and in 1755 he again sailed for Asia.

V.

Begründung der englischen Herrschaft in Bengalen.

(*Schlacht bei Plassey*).

1755—1760.

The first service on which he was employed after his return to the East was the reduction of the stronghold of Gheriah.* This fortress, built on a craggy promontory, and almost surrounded by the ocean, was the den of a pirate named Angria, whose barks had long been the terror of the Arabian Gulf. Admiral Watson,¹⁾ who commanded the English squadron in the Eastern seas, burned Angria's fleet, while Clive attacked

¹⁹⁾ spr. *shicànerý*, frz. *chicanerie*, von lat. *ciccus*, Kleinigkeit, also: Anfechtung wegen Kleinigkeiten, wegen nichtiger Dinge. ²⁰⁾ spr. *cúrnél*.

¹⁾ spr. a im Watson wie den gleichen Buchstaben in „what“.

the fastness by land. The place soon fell, and a booty of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling was divided among the conquerors.

After this exploit, Clive proceeded to his government of Fort St. David. Before he had been there two months, he received intelligence which called forth all the energy of his bold and active mind.

Of the provinces which had been subject to the House of Tamerlane, the wealthiest was Bengal. No part of India possessed such natural advantages, both for agriculture and for commerce. The Ganges²⁾, rushing through a hundred channels to the sea, has formed a vast plain of rich mould³⁾ which, even under the tropical sky, rivals the verdure of an English April. The rice fields yield an increase such as is elsewhere unknown. Spices, sugar, vegetable oils, are produced with marvellous exuberance. The rivers afford an inexhaustible supply of fish.⁴⁾ The desolate islands along the sea-coast, overgrown by noxious vegetation, and swarming with deer and tigers, supply the cultivated districts with abundance of salt. The great stream which fertilises the soil is, at the same time, the chief highway of Eastern commerce. On its banks, and on those of its tributary waters,⁵⁾ are the wealthiest marts,⁶⁾ the most splendid capitals, and the most sacred shrines* of India. The tyranny of man had for ages struggled in vain against the overflowing bounty of nature. In spite of the Mussulman despot, and of the Mahratta freebooter, Bengal was known through the East as the garden of Eden, as the rich kingdom. Its population multiplied exceedingly. Distant provinces were nourished from the overflowing of its granaries; and the noble ladies of London and Paris were clothed in the delicate produce of its looms*. The race by whom this rich tract was peopled, enervated by a soft climate and accustomed to peaceful avocations, bore the same relation to

²⁾ spr. Gāngēz. ³⁾ mould, spr. mōld. die Erde, der Mutterboden (vgl. Maulwurf = Erdwerfer, engl. „molewarp“, früher „moldewarp“). Daneben ein zweites Substantiv mould (franz. moule, deutsch: Modell), die Gestalt, die Form. ⁴⁾ fish gilt im Englischen als Kollektiv oder Stoffname („a great many fish“ neben „a great deal of fish“). Die Pluralform fishes bezeichnet verschiedene Fischarten. ⁵⁾ tributary waters (beisteuernde Gewässer), Nebenflüsse. ⁶⁾ mart, kontrahirt aus market, ist a) der Markt im höheren kaufmännischen Sinne, die Messe, b) der Ort wo ein solcher Markt abgehalten wird, der Handelsplatz.

other Asiatics which the Asiatics generally bear to the bold and energetic children of Europe. The Castilians have a proverb that in València the earth is water and the men women; and the description is at least equally applicable to the vast plain of the Lower Ganges. Whatever the Bengalée does he does languidly. His favourite pursuits are sédentary. He shrinks from bodily exertion; and, though voluble in dispute, and singularly pertinacious in the war of chicàne, he seldom engages in a personal conflict, and scarcely ever enlists as a soldier.⁷⁾ We doubt whether there be a hundred genuine Bengalees in the whole army of the East India Company. There never, perhaps, existed a people so thoroughly fitted by nature and by habit for a foreign yoke.*

The great commercial companies of Europe had long possessed factories in Bengal. The French were settled, as they still are, at Chandernagòre* on the Hoogley. Higher up the stream the Dutch traders held Chinsurah. Nearer to the sea, the English had built Fort William. A church and ample warehouses rose in the vicinity. A row of spacious houses, belonging to the chief factors of the East India Company, lined the banks of the river; and in the neighbourhood had sprung up a large and busy native town, where some Hindoo merchants of great opulence had fixed their abode. But the tract now covered by the palaces of Chowringhee* contained only a few miserable huts thatched with straw.⁸⁾ A jungle, abandoned to water-fowl and álligators, covered the site of the present Citadel, and the Course, which is now daily crowded at sunset with the gayest équipāges of Calcutta. For the ground on which the settlement stood, the English, like other great landholders, paid rent to the government; and they were, like other great landholders, permitted to exercise a certain jurisdiction within their domain.

The great province of Bengal, together with Ōrissa* and Bahar,* had long been governed by a viceroy, whom the English called Aliverdy Khan, and who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, had become virtually⁹⁾ independent. He died

⁷⁾ Wenn eine einzelne Person als einer Gattung angehörig bezeichnet werden soll, darf im Englischen der unbestimmte Artikel nicht fehlen. ⁸⁾ to thatch, deutsch decken, hat nach heutigem Sprachgebrauche die speziellere Bedeutung mit Stroh bedecken. In Erinnerung an seine ursprünglich allgemeinere Bedeutung bedecken findet es sich bisweilen noch mit dem Zusatze with straw verbunden. ⁹⁾ virtually bildet den Gegensatz zu nominally.

in 1756, and the sovereignty descended to his grandson, a youth under twenty years of age, who bore the name of Surájah Dōwlah. Oriental despots are perhaps the worst class of human beings; and this unhappy boy was one of the worst specimens of his class. His understanding was naturally¹⁰⁾ feeble, and his temper naturally unamiable. His education had been such as would have enervated even a vigorous intellect and perverted even a generous disposition. He was unreasonable, because nobody ever dared¹¹⁾ to reason with him, and selfish, because he had never been made to feel himself dependent on¹²⁾ the goodwill of others. Early debauchery had unnerved his body and his mind. He indulged immoderately in the use of ardent spirits, which inflamed his weak brain almost to madness. His chosen companions were flatterers, sprung from the dregs¹³⁾ of the people, and recommended by nothing but buffoonery and servility. It is said that he had arrived at that last stage of human depravity, when cruelty becomes pleasing for its own sake, when the sight of pain, as pain, where no advantage is to be gained, no offence punished, no danger averted, is an agreeable excitement. It had early been his amusement to torture beasts and birds; and, when he grew up, he enjoyed with still keener relish the misery of his fellow-creatures.

From a child Surajah Dowlah had hated the English. It was his whim to do so; and his whims were never opposed. He had also formed a very exaggerated notion of the wealth which might be obtained by plundering them; and his feeble and uncultivated mind was incapable of perceiving that the riches of Calcutta, had they even been greater than he imagined, would not compensate him for what he must lose, if the European trade, of which Bengal was a chief seat, should be driven by his violence to some other quarter. Pretexts for a quarrel were readily found. The English, in expectation of a war with France, had begun to fortify their settlement without special permission from the Nabob. A rich native, whom he longed to plunder, had taken refuge at Calcutta, and had

¹⁰⁾ naturally, nicht „natürlich“ (= selbstverständlich) sondern „von Natur“. ¹¹⁾ In der Bedeutung „wagen“ bildet dare das Präteritum dared und wird jetzt in der Regel mit to konstruirt. ¹²⁾ dependent on, weil das, wovon etwas abhängt, zugleich als Grundlage gedacht werden kann, auf der es zum Theile ruht. ¹³⁾ the dregs, deutsch Dreck; wir sagen: die Hefe des Volkes.

not been delivered up. On such grounds as these Surajah Dowlah marched with a great army against Fort William.

The servants of the Company at Mādrās had been forced by Dupleix to become statesmen and soldiers. Those in Bengal were still mere traders, and were terrified and bewildered by the approaching danger. The governor, who had heard much of Surajah Dowlah's cruelty, was frightened out of his wits,¹⁴⁾ jumped into a boat, and took refuge in the nearest ship. The military commandant thought that he could not do better than follow so good an example. The fort was taken after a feeble resistance; and great numbers of the English fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Nabob seated himself with regal pomp in the principal hall of the factory, and ordered Mr. Holwell, the first in rank among the prisoners, to be brought before him. His Highness abused the insolence of the English, and grumbled at the smallness of the treasure which he had found; but promised to spare their lives, and retired to rest.

Then was committed that great crime, memorable for its singular atrocity, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left to the mercy¹⁵⁾ of the guards, and the guards determined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the Black Hole. Even for a single European mǎlefáctor, that dungeon would, in such a climate, have been too close and narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. The air-holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer sǒlstīce, the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls and by the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was one hundred and forty-six. When they were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers were joking; and, being in high spirits on account of the promise of the Nabob to spare their lives, they laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated; they entreated; but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives were driven into the cell at

¹⁴⁾ wit, a) der Witz, b) der Mann von Geist, c) the wits (pl.), der Verstand. ¹⁵⁾ mercy, a) Gnade, b) Belieben, Gnade oder Ungnade.

the point of the sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them.

Nothing in history or fiction,¹⁶⁾ not even the story which Ugolino* told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell who, even in that extremity, retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers.¹⁷⁾ But the answer was that nothing could be done without the Nabob's orders, that the Nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody woke him. Then the prisoners went mad¹⁸⁾ with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance¹⁹⁾ of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies, raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the mean time held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings. The day broke. The Nabob had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors, by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously, and covered up.

But these things, which, after the lapse of more than eighty years, cannot be told or read without horror, awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom²⁰⁾ of the savage Nabob. He inflicted no punishment on the murderers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some of them, indeed, from whom nothing was to be got, were suffered to depart; but those

¹⁶⁾ fiction, a) Erfindung, Erdichtung, Lüge, b) als Zweig der Literatur: die Gattung, welche im Gegensatz zu den Wissenschaften ihren Stoff aus der Phantasie schöpft, Roman oder Fabel, im weitesten Sinne des Wortes. ¹⁷⁾ spr. jailers. ¹⁸⁾ to go mad (daneben: to run mad), toll werden. ¹⁹⁾ pittance, zunächst die Tagesportion, welche den Mönchen gestattet war; weiterhin überhaupt eine kleine Portion, ein Bischen. ²⁰⁾ spr. böozm.

from whom it was thought that any thing²¹⁾ could be extorted were treated with execrable cruelty. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and sent him up the country in irons,²²⁾ together with some other gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they chose²³⁾ to tell about the treasures of the Company. These persons, still bowed down by the sufferings of that great agony, were lodged in miserable sheds, and fed only with grain and water, till at length the intercessions of the female relations of the Nabob procured their release. One Englishwoman had survived that night. She was placed in the haram of the Prince at Moorshedabad.*

Surajah Dowlah, in the mean time, sent letters to his nominal sovereign at Delhi, describing the late conquest in the most pompous language. He placed a garrison in Fort William, forbade any Englishman to dwell in the neighbourhood, and directed that, in memory of his great actions, Calcutta should thenceforward be called Alinagòre, that is to say, the Port of God.

In August the news of the fall of Calcutta reached Madras, and excited the fiercest and bitterest resentment. The cry of the whole settlement was for vengeance. Within forty-eight hours after the arrival of the intelligence it was determined that an expedition should be sent to the Hoogley, and that Clive should be at the head of the land forces. The naval armament was under the command of Admiral Watson. Nine hundred English infantry, fine troops and full of spirit, and fifteen hundred sepoy, composed the army which sailed to punish a Prince who had more subjects than Louis the Fifteenth or the Empress Maria Theresa. In October the expedition sailed; but it had to make its way against adverse winds, and did not reach Bengal till December.

The Nabob was revelling in fancied security at Moorshedabad. He was so profoundly ignorant of the state of

²¹⁾ any thing, weil der Gegenstand selbst noch fraglich ist, d. h. weil es nicht feststeht, ob man überhaupt etwas bei ihnen findet oder nicht; durch „some“ wird nur die Menge des Gegenstandes unbestimmt gelassen, der Gegenstand selbst wird nicht als fraglich angesehen. ²²⁾ irons, spr. I-öns, (franz. les fers), die Fesseln. ²³⁾ to choose, a) mit Akkusativobjekt: wählen; b) mit Infinitivobject: für gut befinden; beide Uebersetzungen sind in sofern nahe verwandt, als man in der Regel das wählen wird, was man für gut befunden hat.

foreign countries, that he often used to say that there were not ten thousand men in all Europe; and it had never occurred to him as possible, that the English would dare to invade his dominions. But, though undisturbed by any fear of their military power, he began to miss them greatly. His revenues fell off; and his ministers succeeded in making him understand that a ruler may sometimes find it more profitable to protect traders in the open enjoyment of their gains than to put them to the torture for the purpose of discovering hidden chests of gold and jewels. He was already disposed to permit the Company to resume its mercantile operations in his country, when he received the news that an English armament was in the Hoogley. He instantly ordered all his troops to assemble at Moorshedabad, and marched towards Calcutta.

Clive had commenced operations with his usual vigour. He took Budgebudge, routed the garrison of Fort William, recovered Calcutta, stormed and sacked Hoogley.* The Nabob, already disposed to make some concessions to the English, was confirmed in his pacific disposition by these proofs of their power and spirit. He accordingly made overtures to the chiefs of the invading armament, and offered to restore the factory, and to give compensation to those whom he had despoiled.

Clive's profession was war; and he felt that there was something discreditable in an accommodation with Surajah Dowlah. But his power was limited. A committee, chiefly composed of servants of the Company who had fled from Calcutta, had the principal direction of affairs; and these persons were eager to be restored to their posts and compensated for their losses. The government of Madras, apprised that war had commenced in Europe*, and apprehensive of an attack from the French, became impatient for the return of the armament. The promises of the Nabob were large, the chances of a contest doubtful; and Clive consented to treat, though he expressed his regret that things should not be concluded in so glorious a manner as he could have wished.

With this negotiation commences a new chapter in the life of Clive. Hitherto he had been merely a soldier, carrying into effect, with eminent ability and valour, the plans of others. Henceforth he is to be chiefly regarded as a statesman; and his military movements are to be considered as subordinate to his political designs. That in his new capacity he dis-

played great talents, and obtained great success, is unquestionable. But it is also unquestionable, that the transactions in which he now began to take a part have left a stain on his moral character.

We can by no means agree with Sir John Malcolm,²⁴⁾ who is obstinately resolved to see nothing but honour and integrity in the conduct of his hero. But we can as little agree with Mr. Mill,²⁵⁾ who has gone so far as to say that Clive was a man "to whom deception, when it suited his purpose, never cost a pang." Clive seems to us to have been constitutionally²⁶⁾ the very opposite of a knave, bold even to temerity, sincere even to indiscretion, hearty in friendship, open in enmity. Neither in his private life, nor in those parts of his public life in which he had to do with his countrymen, do we find any signs of a propensity to cunning. On the contrary, in all the disputes in which he was engaged as an Englishman against Englishmen, from his boxing-matches²⁷⁾ at school to those stormy altercations at the India House and in Parliament amidst which his later years were passed, his very faults were those of a high and magnanimous spirit. The truth seems to have been that he considered Oriental politics as a game in which nothing was unfair. He knew that the standard²⁸⁾ of morality among the natives of India differed widely from that established in England. He knew that he had to deal with men destitute of what in Europe is called honour, with men who would give any promise without hesitation, and break any promise without shame, with men who would unscrupulously employ corruption, perjury, forgery, to compass²⁹⁾ their ends. His letters show that the great difference between Asiatic and European morality was constantly in his thoughts. He seems to have imagined, most erroneously in our opinion, that he could effect nothing against such adversaries, if he was content to be bound by ties from

²⁴⁾ Sir John Malcolm hatte eine Biographie des Lord Clive herausgegeben, in welcher er seinen Helden von allen Flecken, welche die öffentliche Meinung an demselben fand, zu reinigen versuchte. ²⁵⁾ Mill, Verfasser eines Werkes über indische Geschichte, hatte Clive mit äusserster Strenge beurtheilt. ²⁶⁾ siehe I, 8. ²⁷⁾ match, die Partie, in welcher die Kräfte sich mit einander messen (ob sie einander gewachsen sind); vgl. I. 49. ²⁸⁾ standard, a) die Standarte, b) alles, was als mustergültig anerkannt ist, wonach man sich also zu richten hat, daher: Muster, Vorschrift, Regel, Norm, Gesetz. ²⁹⁾ to compass, a) umgeben, umzingeln, b) figürlich: (durch Umzingelung in seine Gewalt bringen), zu Stande bringen, durchsetzen.

which they were free, if he went on ³⁰⁾ telling truth, and hearing none, if he fulfilled, to his own hurt, all his engagements with confederates who never kept an engagement that was not to their advantage. Accordingly this man, in the other parts of his life an honourable English gentleman and a soldier, was no sooner matched against an Indian intriguer, than he became himself an Indian intriguer, and descended, without scruple, to falsehood, to hypocritical cārèsses, to the substitution of documents, and to the counterfeiting of hands. ³¹⁾

The negotiations between the English and the Nabob were carried on chiefly by two agents, Mr. Watts, a servant of the company, and a Bengalee of the name of Omichúnd. This Omichund had been one of the wealthiest native merchants resident at Calcutta, and had sustained great losses in consequence of the Nabob's expedition against that place. In the course of his commercial transactions, he had seen much of the English, and was peculiarly qualified to serve as a medium of communication between them and a native court. He possessed great influence with his own race, and had in large measure the Hindoo talents, quick observation, tact, dexterity, perseverance, and the Hindoo vices, servility, greediness, and treachery,

The Nabob behaved with all the faithlessness of an Indian statesman, and with all the levity of a boy whose mind had been enfeebled by power and self-indulgence. He promised, retracted, hesitated, evaded. At one time he advanced with his army in a threatening manner towards Calcutta; but when he saw the resolute front which the English presented, he fell back ³²⁾ in alarm, and consented to make peace with them on their own terms. The treaty was no sooner concluded than he formed new designs against them. He intrigued with the French authorities ³³⁾ at Chandernagore. He invited Bussy to march from the Deccan to the Hoogley, and to drive the English out of Bengal. All this was well known to Clive and Watson. They determined accordingly to strike a decisive blow, and to attack Chandernagore, before the force there

³⁰⁾ to go on, a) weitergehen, b) bildlich: fortfahren.
³¹⁾ hand, a) Hand, b) Handschrift (= character). ³²⁾ to fall back, zurückweichen, bezeichnet das durch Schrecken veranlasste stürmische Zurückgehen. ³³⁾ authority, a) das Ansehen und die mit dem Ansehen verbundene Machtvollkommenheit, b) der Träger der Macht; authorities daher Behörden.

could be strengthened by new arrivals, either from the south of India or from Europe. Watson directed the expedition by water, Clive by land. The success of the combined movements was rapid and complete. The fort, the garrison, the artillery, the military stores, all fell into the hands of the English. Near five hundred European troops were among the prisoners.

The Nabob had feared and hated the English, even while he was still able to oppose to them their French rivals. The French were now vanquished; and he began to regard the English with still greater fear and still greater hatred. His weak and unprincipled mind oscillated between servility and insolence. One day he sent a large sum to Calcutta, as part of the compensation due for the wrongs which he had committed. The next day he sent a present of jewels to Bussy, exhorting that distinguished officer to hasten to protect Bengal "against Clive, the daring in war, on whom," says his Highness, "may all bad fortune attend." He ordered his army to march against the English. He cōntermáded his orders. He tore Clive's letters. He then sent answers in the most florid language of compliment. He ordered Watts out of his presence, and threatened to impale³⁴⁾ him. He again sent for Watts, and begged pardon for the insult. In the mean time, his wretched maladministration, his folly, his dissolute manners, and his love of the lowest company, had disgusted all classes of his subjects, soldiers, traders, civil functionaries, the proud and ostentatious Mahommedans, the timid, supple, and parsimonious Hindoos. A formidable confederacy was formed against him, in which were included Roydullub, the minister of fínánce, Mèer Jáffier, the principal commander of the troops, and Jugget Sēit, the richest banker in India. The plot was confided to the English agents, and a communication was opened between the málcontents at Moorshedabad and the committee at Calcutta.

In the committee there was much hesitation; but Clive's voice was given in favour of the conspirators, and his vigour and firmness bore down³⁵⁾ all opposition. It was determined that the English should lend their powerful assistance to de-

³⁴⁾ to impale, pfählen, auf den Pfahl spiessen (die in Indien übliche Art der Todesstrafe). ³⁵⁾ to bear down (niederdrücken, wie eine schwere Last es thut), zu Boden drücken, niederschlagen.

pose Surajah Dowlah, and to place Meer Jaffier on the throne of Bengal. In return, Meer Jaffier promised ample compensation to the Company and its servants, and a liberal donative to the army, the navy, and the committee. The odious vices of Surajah Dowlah, the wrongs which the English had suffered at ³⁶⁾ his hands, the dangers to which our trade must have been exposed had he continued to reign, appear to us fully to justify the resolution of deposing him. But nothing can justify the dissimulation which Clive stooped to practise. He wrote to Surajah Dowlah in terms so affectionate that they for a time lulled that weak prince into perfect security. The same courier ³⁷⁾ who carried this "soothing letter," as Clive calls it, to the Nabob, carried to Mr. Watts a letter in the following terms: "Tell Meer Jaffier to fear nothing. I will join him with five thousand men who never turned their backs. Assure him I will march night and day to his assistance, and stand by him as long as I have a man left."

It was impossible that a plot which had so many ramifications should long remain entirely concealed. Enough reached the ears of the Nabob to arouse his suspicions. But he was soon quieted by the fictions and artifices which the inventive genius of Omichund produced with miraculous readiness. All was going well; the plot was nearly ripe; when Clive learned that Omichund was likely to play false. The artful Bengalee had been promised a liberal compensation for all that he had lost at Calcutta. But this would not satisfy him. His services had been great. He held the thread of the whole intrigue. By one word breathed in the ear of Surajah Dowlah, he could undo all that he had done. The lives of Watts, of Meer Jaffier, of all the conspirators, were at his mercy; and he determined to take advantage of his situation and to make his own terms. He demanded three hundred thousand pounds sterling as the price of his secrecy and of his assistance. The committee, incensed by the treachery and appalled ³⁸⁾ by the danger, knew not ³⁹⁾ what course to take. But Clive was more than Omichund's match in Omi-

³⁶⁾ at the hands, weil das, was „aus“ einer Hand kommt, zunächst „in“ derselben liegt; vgl. franz. boire dans un verre. ³⁷⁾ spr. cōo'riēr. ³⁸⁾ spr. appawl. ³⁹⁾ „knew not“ ist nach heutigem Sprachgebrauche emphatischer als das gewöhnlichere did not know, und wird gern gebraucht, um einen Gegensatz wirksamer hervorzuheben (The committee knew not what course to take, but Clive knew).

chund's own arts. The man, he said, was a villain. Any artifice which would defeat such knavery was justifiable. The best course would be to promise what was asked. Omichund would soon be at their mercy; and then they might punish him by withholding from him, not only the bribe which he now demanded, but also the compensation which all the other sufferers of Calcutta were to receive.

His advice was taken. But how was the wary and sagacious Hindōo to be deceived? He had demanded that an article touching his claims should be inserted in the treaty between Meer Jaffier and the English, and he would not be satisfied⁴⁰⁾ unless he saw it with his own eyes. Clive had an expedient ready. Two treaties were drawn up, one on white paper, the other on red, the former real, the latter fictitious. In the former Omichund's name was not mentioned; the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained a stipulation in his favour.

But another difficulty arose. Admiral Watson had scruples about signing the red treaty. Omichund's vigilance and acuteness were such that the absence of so important a name would probably awaken his suspicions. But Clive was not a man to do any thing by halves.⁴¹⁾ We almost blush to write it. He forged Admiral Watson's name.

All was now ready for action. Mr. Watts fled secretly from Moorshedabad. Clive put his troops in motion, and wrote to the Nabob in a tone very different from that of his previous letters. He set forth all the wrongs which the British had suffered, offered to submit the points in dispute to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, and concluded by announcing that, as the rains were about to set in, he and his men would do themselves the honour of waiting on his Highness for an answer.

Surajah Dowlah instantly assembled his whole force, and marched to encounter the English. It had been agreed that

⁴⁰⁾ he would be satisfied, Imperfekt des Futurums; he will be satisfied, er wird zufriedengestellt sein, ist zu befriedigen; he would be s. also: er war zu befriedigen. Die durch „unless he saw it“ ausgedrückte Bedingung ist keine hypothetische, sondern eine eigentliche. ⁴¹⁾ „by“ hier distributiv, jedesmal zur Hälfte; vgl. to sell by pounds. Der grammatische Singular „any thing“ bedeutet dem Autor eine Mehrzahl, und so ist der Plural halves zu erklären.

Meer Jaffier should separate himself from the Nabob, and carry over his division to Clive. But, as the decisive moment approached, the fears of the conspirator overpowered his ambition. Clive had advanced to Cossimbuzar;* the Nabob lay with a mighty power a few miles off at Plassey; and still Meer Jaffier delayed to fulfil his engagements, and returned evasive answers to the earnest remonstrances of the English general.

Clive was in a painfully anxious situation. He could place no confidence in the sincerity or in the courage of his confederate: and, whatever confidence he might place in his own military talents, and in the valour and discipline of his troops, it was no light thing to engage an army twenty times as numerous as his own. Before him lay a river over which it was easy to advance, but over which, if things went ill, not one of his little band would ever return. On this occasion, for the first and for the last time, his dauntless spirit, during a few hours, shrank from the fearful responsibility of making a decision. He called a council of war. The majority pronounced against fighting; and Clive declared his concurrence with the majority. Long afterwards, he said that he had never called but one council of war, and that, if he had taken the advice of that council, the British would never have been masters of Bengal. But scarcely had the meeting broken up when he was himself again. He retired alone under the shade of some trees, and passed near an hour there in thought. He came back determined to put every thing to the hazard, and gave orders that all should be in readiness for passing the river on the morrow.⁴²⁾

The river was passed; and at the close of a toilsome day's march, the army, long after sunset, took up its quarters in a grove of mango-trees near Plassey, within a mile of⁴³⁾ the enemy. Clive was unable to sleep; he heard through the whole night the sound of drums and cymbals from the vast camp of the Nabob. It is not strange that even his

⁴²⁾ Neben dem adverbialen to-morrow ist auch das Substantiv the morrow, der folgende Tag, vorhanden. Nicht zu verwechseln mit the morning, die Frühe des Tages. ⁴³⁾ In ähnlichen Ausdrücken, welche das Maass des Abstandes von einem Punkte bestimmt angeben, hat die Präposition „of“ ihre ursprüngliche räumliche Bedeutung beibehalten. Dagegen sagt man: far from, distant from.

stout heart should⁴⁴⁾ now and then have sunk, when he reflected against what odds*, and for what a prize, he was in a few hours to contend.

Nor was the rest of Surajah Dowlah more peaceful. His mind, at once weak and stormy, was distracted by wild and horrible apprehensions. Appalled by the greatness and nearness of the crisis, distrusting his captains, dreading every one who approached him, dreading to be left alone, he sat gloomily in his tent, haunted, a Greek poet would have said, by the furies of those who had cursed him with their last breath in the Black Hole.

The day broke, the day which was to decide the fate of India. At sunrise the army of the Nabob, pouring through many openings from the camp, began to move towards the grove where the English lay. Forty thousand infantry, armed with firelocks, pikes, swords, bows and arrows, covered the plain. They were accompanied by fifty pieces of ordnance*⁴⁵⁾ of the largest size, each tugged by a long team of white oxen, and each pushed on from behind by an elephant. Some smaller guns, under the direction of a few French auxiliaries, were perhaps more formidable. The cavalry were fifteen thousand, drawn, not from the effeminate population of Bengal, but from the bolder race which inhabits the northern provinces; and the practised eye of Clive could perceive that both the men and the horses were more powerful than those of the Carnatic. The force which he had to oppose to this great multitude consisted of only three thousand men. But of these nearly a thousand were English; and all were led by English officers, and trained in the English discipline. Conspicuous in the ranks of the little army were the men of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment, which still bears on its colours,⁴⁶⁾ amidst many honourable additions won under Wellington in Spain and Gáscony, the name of Plassey, and the proud motto, *Primus in Indis*.

The battle commenced with a cannonade in which the artillery of the Nabob did scarcely any execution, while the few field-pieces of the English produced great effect. Several

⁴⁴⁾ Nach den Ausdrücken der Verwunderung oder Nicht-Verwunderung (it is not strange = we cannot wonder) findet sich im Nebensatze should, obgleich er etwas Thatsächliches enthält. ⁴⁵⁾ ordnance, schweres Geschütz, ein Kollektiv. ⁴⁶⁾ colours, a) die Farben, b) die Fahne.

of the most distinguished officers in Surajah Dowlah's service fell. Disorder began to spread through his ranks. His own terror increased every moment. One of the conspirators urged on him the expediency of retreating. The insidious advice, agreeing as it did⁴⁷⁾ with what his own terrors suggested, was readily received. He ordered his army to fall back, and this order decided his fate. Clive snatched the moment, and ordered his troops to advance. The confused and dispirited multitude gave way before the onset of disciplined valour. No mob attacked by regular soldiers was ever more completely routed. The little band of Frenchmen, who alone ventured to confront the English, were swept down by the stream of fugitives. In an hour the forces of Surajah Dowlah were dispersed, never to reassemble. Only five hundred of the vanquished were slain. But their camp, their guns, their baggage, innumerable waggons, innumerable cattle, remained in the power of the conquerors. With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed and fifty wounded, Clive had scattered an army of near sixty thousand men, and subdued an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain.*

Meer Jaffier had given no assistance to the English during the action. But as soon as he saw that the fate of the day was decided, he drew off his division of the army, and, when the battle was over, sent his congratulations to his ally. The next morning he repaired to the English quarters, not a little⁴⁸⁾ uneasy as to the reception which awaited him there. He gave evident signs of alarm when a guard was drawn out to receive him with the honours due to his rank. But his apprehensions were speedily removed. Clive came forward to meet him, embraced him, saluted him as Nabob of the three great provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, listened graciously to his apologies, and advised him to march without delay to Moorshedabad.

Surajah Dowlah had fled from the field of battle with all the speed with which a fleet camel could carry him, and arrived at Moorshedabad in little more than twenty-four hours. There he called his councillors round him. The wisest advised him to put himself into the hands of the English, from whom

⁴⁷⁾ „Da er übereinstimmte, wie er es wirklich that, mit dem, was“; „as it did“ ist concessiver Zwischensatz, der hier eine emphatische Wirkung hat; „did“ ist Stellvertreter für *agreed*. — ⁴⁸⁾ Die Negation des quantitativen „little“ ist „not a little“.

he had nothing worse to fear than deposition and confinement. But he attributed this suggestion to treachery. Others urged him to try the chance of war again. He approved the advice, and issued orders accordingly. But he wanted spirit to adhere even during one day to a manly resolution. He learned that Meer Jaffier had arrived; and his terrors became insupportable. Disguised in a mean dress, with a casket of jewels in his hand, he let himself down at night from a window of his palace, and, accompanied by only two attendants, embarked on the river for Pátna.

In a few days Clive arrived at Moorshedabad, escorted by two hundred English soldiers and three hundred sepoys. For his residence had been assigned a palace, which was surrounded by a garden so spacious that all the troops who accompanied him could conveniently encamp within it. The ceremony of the installation of Meer Jaffier was instantly performed. Clive led the new Nabob to the seat of honour, placed him on it, presented to him, after the immemorial fashion of the East, an offering of gold, and then, turning to the natives who filled the hall, congratulated them on the good fortune which had freed them from a tyrant. He was compelled on this occasion to use the services of an intérpreter; for it is remarkable that, long as he resided in India, intimately acquainted as he was with Indian politics and with the Indian character, and adored as he was by his Indian soldiery, he never learned to express himself with facility in any Indian language. He is said indeed to have been sometimes under the necessity of employing, in his intercourse with natives of India, the smattering of Portuguese which he had acquired when a lad in Brazil.⁴⁹⁾

The new sovereign was now called upon to fulfil the engagements into which he had entered with his allies. A conference was held at the house of Jugget Seit, the great banker, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements. Omichund came thither, fully believing himself to stand high in the favour of Clive, who, with dissimulation surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had up to that day treated him with undiminished kindness. The white treaty was produced and read. Clive then turned to Mr. Scrafton, one of the servants of the Company, and said in English, "It is now time

⁴⁹⁾ spr. brázèel.

to undeceive Omichund." "Omichund," said Mr. Scrafton in Hindostánēe, "the red treaty is a trick. You are to have nothing." Omichund fell back insensible into the arms of his attendants. He revived; but his mind was irréparably ruined. Clive, who, though little troubled by scruples of conscience in his dealings with Indian politicians, was not inhuman, seems to have been touched. He saw Omichund a few days later, spoke to him kindly, advised him to make a pilgrimage to one of the great temples of India, in the hope that change of scene might restore his health, and was even disposed, notwithstanding all that had passed, again to employ his talents in the public service. But, from the moment of that sudden shock, the unhappy man sank gradually into idiocy. He, who had formerly been distinguished by the strength of his understanding and the simplicity of his habits, now squandered⁵⁰⁾ the remains of his fortune on childish trinkets, and loved to exhibit himself dressed in rich garments, and hung with precious stones. In this abject state he languished a few months, and then died.

Who should not think it necessary to offer any remarks for the purpose of directing the judgment of our readers with respect to this transaction, had not Sir John Malcolm undertaken to defend it in all its parts. He regrets, indeed, that it was necessary to employ means so liable to abuse as forgery; but he will not admit that any blame attaches to those who deceived the deceiver. He thinks that the English were not bound to keep faith with one who kept no faith with them, and that, if they had fulfilled their engagements with the wily Bengalée, so signal an example of successful treason would have produced a crowd of imitators. Now, we will not discuss this point on⁵¹⁾ any rigid principles of morality. Indeed, it is quite unnecessary to do so: for, looking at the question as a question of expediency in the lowest sense of the word, and using no arguments but such as Machiavelli*⁵²⁾ might have employed in his conferences with Borgia,⁵³⁾ we are convinced that Clive was altogether in the wrong, and that he

⁵⁰⁾ spr. skwóndered. ⁵¹⁾ on principles of morality: der Engländer denkt sich die Principien als Grundlage der Diskussion. Wir würden sagen: „nach Maassgabe moralischer Grundsätze“, indem wir dieselben als Maassstab unsres Urtheils ansehen. ⁵²⁾ spr. Mäkkiävelli. ⁵³⁾ spr. bórja.

committed, not merely a crime, but a blunder.⁵⁴⁾ That honesty is the best policy⁵⁵⁾ is a maxim which we firmly believe to be generally correct, even with respect to the temporal interests of individuals; but, with respect to societies, the rule is subject to still fewer exceptions, and that, for this reason, that the life of societies is longer than the life of individuals. It is possible to mention men who have owed great worldly prosperity to breaches of private faith. But we doubt whether it be possible to mention a state which has on the whole⁵⁶⁾ been a gainer by a breach of public faith. The entire history of British India is an illustration of the great truth, that it is not prudent to oppose perfidy to perfidy, and that the most efficient weapon with which men can encounter falsehood is truth. During a long course of years, the English rulers of India, surrounded by allies and enemies whom no engagement could bind, have generally acted with sincerity and uprightness; and the event has proved that sincerity and uprightness are wisdom. English valour and English intelligence have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental empire than English veracity. All that we could have gained by imitating the doublings, the evasions, the fictions, the perjuries which have been employed against us, is as nothing, when compared with what we have gained by being the one power in India on whose word reliance can be placed. No oath which superstition⁵⁷⁾ can devise, no hostage however precious, inspires a hundredth part of the confidence which is produced by the "yea,⁵⁸⁾ yea," and "nay, nay," of a British envoy. No fastness, however strong by art or nature, gives to its inmates a security like that enjoyed by the chief who, passing through the territories of powerful and deadly enemies, is armed with the British guarantee. The mightiest princes of the East can scarcely, by the offer of enormous usury, draw forth any portion of the wealth which is concealed under the hearths⁵⁹⁾ of their

⁵⁴⁾ „not a crime, but a blunder“, ein eigenthümlicher Gegensatz, der sich bei Macaulay öfter findet. Der Irrthum ist nach seinem Darfürhalten das grösste Verbrechen des Staatsmannes. ⁵⁵⁾ „Honesty is the best policy“, ein Sprichwort. ⁵⁶⁾ on the whole, (wenn man das Ganze, das Schlussresultat in's Auge fasst) „schliesslich“ steht im Gegensatze zu „for a short time“. ⁵⁷⁾ superstition ist die, das ganze Denken und Fühlen fesselnde religiöse Idee, „der religiöse Wahnsinn“; daneben in zweiter Linie: der absurde religiöse Glaube, der „Aberglaube“, und „die falsche Religion“. ⁵⁸⁾ spr. yā. ⁵⁹⁾ spr. harths.

subjects. The British Government offers little more than four per cent.; and avarice hastens to bring forth tens⁶⁰⁾ of millions of rupees⁶¹⁾ from its most secret repositories. A hostile monarch may promise mountains of gold to our sepoys, on condition that they will desert the standard of the Company. The Company promises only a moderate pension after a long service. But every sepoy knows that the promise of the Company will be kept; he knows that if he lives a hundred years his rice and salt are as secure as the salary of the Governor-General: and he knows that there is not another state in India which would not, in spite of the most solemn vows, leave him to die of hunger in a ditch as soon as he had ceased to be useful. The greatest advantage which a government can possess is to be the one trustworthy government in the midst of governments which nobody can trust. This advantage we enjoy in Asia. Had we acted during the last two generations on the principles which Sir John Malcolm appears to have considered as sound, had we, as often as we had to deal with people like Omichund, retaliated by lying, and forging, and breaking faith, after their fashion, it is our firm belief that no courage or capacity could have upheld our empire.

Sir John Malcolm admits that Clive's breach of faith could be justified only by the strongest necessity. As we think that breach of faith not only unnecessary, but most inexpedient, we need hardly say that we altogether condemn it.

Omichund was not the only victim of the revolution. Surajah Dowlah was taken a few days after his flight, and was brought before Meer Jaffier. There he flung himself on the ground in convulsions of fear, and with tears and loud cries implored the mercy which he had never shown. Meer Jaffier hesitated; but his son Mēerán, a youth of seventeen, who in feebleness of brain and savageness of nature greatly resembled the wretched captive, was implacable. Surajah Dowlah was led into a secret chamber, to which in a short time the ministers of death were sent. In this act the English bore no part; and Meer Jaffier understood so much of their feelings, that he thought it necessary to apologise to

⁶⁰⁾ ten ist hier, wie: dozen, hundred, thousand, als Maass-einheit betrachtet und deshalb substantivisch gebraucht. ⁶¹⁾ rupee, spr. rōopée, ist eine indische Silbermünze im Werthe von 2 shillings oder 2 Rm.

them for having avenged them on their most malignant enemy.

The shower of wealth now fell copiously on the Company and its servants. A sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, in coined silver, was sent down the river from Moorshedabad to Fort William. The fleet which conveyed this treasure consisted of more than a hundred boats, and performed its triumphal voyage with flags flying and music playing. Calcutta, which a few months before had been desolate, was now more prosperous than ever. Trade revived; and the signs of affluence appeared in every English house. As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. There were piled up, after the usage of Indian princes, immense masses of coin, among which might not seldom be detected the florins and byzants⁶²⁾ with which, before any European ship had turned the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians purchased the stuffs and spices of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver, crowned with rubies and diamonds, and was at liberty to help himself. He accepted between two and three hundred thousand pounds.

The pecuniary transactions between Meer Jaffier and Clive were sixteen years later condemned by the public voice, and severely criticised in Parliament. They are vehemently defended by Sir John Malcolm. The accusers of the victorious general represented his gains as the wages of corruption, or as plunder extorted at the point of the sword from a helpless ally. The biographer, on the other hand, considers these great acquisitions as free gifts, honourable alike to the donor and to the receiver, and compares them to the rewards bestowed by foreign powers on Marlborough*,⁶³⁾ on Nelson,* and on Wellington*. It had always, he says, been customary in the East to give and receive presents; and there was, as yet, no Act of Parliament positively prohibiting English functionaries in India from profiting by this Asiatic usage. This reasoning, we own, does not quite satisfy us. We do not

⁶²⁾ Ein Byzantiner ist eine Goldmünze im Werthe von 12 Rm., die nach der Stadt Byzanz benannt war, aber auch an anderen Orten geprägt sein konnte. Diese Münze war im Mittelalter in Deutschland unter dem Namen „Besam“ und in Frankreich unter der Benennung „bezant d'or“ gangbar. ⁶³⁾ Mawl-börö.

suspect Clive of selling the interests of his employers or his country; but we cannot acquit him of having done what, if not in itself evil, was yet of evil example. Nothing is more clear than that a general ought to be the servant of his own government, and of no other. It follows that whatever rewards he receives for his services ought to be given either by his own government, or with the full knowledge and approbation of his own government. This rule ought to be strictly maintained even with respect to the merest bauble, with respect to a cross, a médal, or a yard of coloured riband. But how can any government be well served, if those who command its forces are at liberty, without its permission, without its privacy, to accept princely fortunes from its allies? It is idle to say that there was then no Act of Parliament prohibiting the practice of taking presents from Asiatic sovereigns. It is not on the Act which was passed⁶⁴⁾ at a later period for the purpose of preventing any such taking of presents, but on grounds which were valid before that Act was passed, on grounds of common law and common sense, that we arraign the conduct of Clive. There is no Act that we know of, prohibiting the Secretary of State⁶⁵⁾ for Foreign Affairs from being in the pay of continental powers. But it is not the less true that a Secretary who should receive a secret pension from France would grossly violate his duty, and would deserve severe punishment. Sir John Malcolm compares the conduct of Clive with that of the Duke of Wellington. Suppose — and we beg pardon for putting such a supposition even for the sake of argument — that the Duke of Wellington had, after the campaign⁶⁶⁾ of 1815, and while he commanded the army of occupation in France, privately accepted two hundred thousand pounds from Louis the Eighteenth, as a mark of gratitude for the great services which his Grace had rendered to the House of Bourbon; what would be thought of such a transaction? Yet the statute-book* no more forbids the taking of presents in Europe now than it forbade the taking of presents in Asia then.

⁶⁴⁾ to pass a law, ein Gesetz durchgehen lassen (bei der Abstimmung), „ein Gesetz annehmen.“ ⁶⁵⁾ Secretary of State ist die Bezeichnung des Staatsministers. Wird das Ressort desselben angegeben (Secretary for War), so fällt die Bestimmung „of State“ fort. In Deutschland heisst der nächste Beamte unter dem Minister: Unterstaatssekretär. ⁶⁶⁾ spr. campàne.

At the same time, it must be admitted that, in Clive's case, there were many extenuating circumstances. He considered himself as the general, not of the Crown, but of the Company. The Company had, by implication at least, authorised its agents to enrich themselves by means of the liberality of the native princes, and by other means still more objectionable. It was hardly to be expected that the servant should entertain stricter notions of his duty than were entertained by his masters. Though Clive did not distinctly acquaint his employers with what had taken place, and request their sanction, he did not, on the other hand, by studied concealment, show that he was conscious of having done wrong. On the contrary, he avowed with the greatest openness that the Nabob's bounty had raised him to affluence. Lastly, though we think that he ought not in such a way to have taken any thing, we must admit that he deserves praise for having taken so little. He accepted twenty lacs ⁶⁷⁾ of rupees. It would have cost him only a word to make the twenty forty. It was a very easy exercise of virtue to declaim in England against Clive's rapacity; but not one in a hundred of his accusers would have shown so much self-command in the treasury of Moorshedabad.

Meer Jaffier could be upheld on the throne only by the hand which had placed him on it. He was not, indeed, a mere boy; nor had he been so unfortunate as to be born in the purple. He was not therefore quite so imbecile ⁶⁸⁾ or quite so depraved as his prēdēcēssor had been. But he had none of the talents or virtues which his pōst required; and his son and heir, Meeran, was another Surajah Dowlah. The recent revolution had unsettled the minds of men. Many chiefs were in open insurrection against the new Nabob. The viceroy of the rich and powerful province of Oude, * ⁶⁹⁾ who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, was now in truth an independent sovereign, menaced Bengal with invasion. Nothing but the talents and authority of Clive could support the tottering government. While things were in this state a ship arrived with despatches which had been written at the India House before the news of the battle of Plassey had reached

⁶⁷⁾ a lac (indisches Wort) bezeichnet eine Summe von 100,000.

⁶⁸⁾ spr. imbēcèle. Das Wort ist noch nicht ganz heimisch geworden in der englischen Sprache und hat deshalb die franz. Betonung beibehalten. ⁶⁹⁾ spr. oud = aud.

London. The Directors had determined to place the English settlements in Bengal under a government constituted in the most cumbrous and absurd manner; and, to make the matter worse, no place in the arrangement was assigned to Clive. The persons who were selected to form this new government, greatly to their honour, took on themselves the responsibility of disobeying these preposterous⁷⁰⁾ orders, and invited Clive to exercise the supreme authority. He consented; and it soon appeared that the servants of the Company had only anticipated the wishes of their employers. The Directors, on receiving news of Clive's brilliant success, instantly appointed him governor of their possessions in Bengal, with the highest marks of gratitude and esteem. His power was now boundless, and far surpassed even that which Dupleix had attained in the south of India. Meer Jaffier regarded him with slavish awe. On one occasion, the Nabob spoke with severity to a native chief of high rank, whose followers had been engaged in a brawl with some of the Company's sepoys. "Are you yet to learn," he said, "who that Colonel Clive is, and in what station God has placed him?" The chief, who, as a famous jester and an old friend of Meer Jaffier, could venture to take liberties, answered, "I affront the Colonel! I, who never get up in the morning without making three low bows to his jackass!" This was hardly an exaggeration. Europeans and natives were alike at Clive's feet. The English regarded him as the only man who could force Meer Jaffier to keep his engagements with them. Meer Jaffier regarded him as the only man who could protect the new dynasty against turbulent subjects and encroaching neighbours.

It is but justice to say that Clive used his power ably and vigorously for the advantage of his country. He sent forth an expedition against the tract lying to the north of the Carnatic. In this tract the French still had the ascendancy; and it was important to dislodge them. The conduct of the enterprise was intrusted to an officer of the name of Forde, who was then little known, but in whom the keen eye of the Governor had detected military talents of a high order. The success of the expedition was rapid and splendid.

⁷⁰⁾ preposterous (eigentlich: das was nach vorn gehört, hinten habend) „verkehrt.“

While a considerable part of the army of Bengal was thus engaged at a distance, a new and formidable danger menaced the western frontier. The Great Mogul was a prisoner at Dehli in the hands of a subject. His eldest son, named Shah⁷¹⁾ Alúm,* destined to be, during many years, the sport of adverse fortune, and to be a tool in the hands, first of the Mahrattas, and then of the English, had fled from the palace of his father. His birth was still revered in India. Some powerful princes, the Nabob of Oude in particular, were inclined to favour him. Shah Alum found it easy to draw to his standard great numbers of the military adventurers with whom every part of the country swarmed. An army of forty thousand men, of various races and religions, Mahrattas, Rohillas, Jauts, and Afghans, was speedily assembled round him; and he formed the design of overthrowing the upstart whom the English had elevated to a throne, and of establishing his own authority throughout Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

Meer Jaffier's terror was extreme; and the only expedient which occurred to him was to purchase, by the payment of a large sum of money, an accommodation with Shah Alum. This expedient had been repeatedly employed by those who, before him, had ruled the rich and unwarlike provinces near the mouth of the Ganges. But Clive treated the suggestion with a scorn worthy of his strong sense and dauntless courage. "If you do this," he wrote, "you will have the Nabob of Oude, the Mahrattas, and many more, come from all parts of the confines of your country, who will bully⁷²⁾ you out of money till you have none left in your treasury. I beg your excellency will rely on the fidelity of the English, and of those troops which are attached to you." He wrote in a similar strain to the governor of Pátna, a brave native soldier whom he highly esteemed. "Come to no terms;⁷³⁾ defend your city to the last. Rest assured that the English

⁷¹⁾ spr. a in Shah wie langes deutsches a. ⁷²⁾ spr. u in „to bully“ (verwandt mit bullern = lärmern, tosen) wie deutsches u. ⁷³⁾ the term, a) die Grenze, b) der Termin (als zeitliche Grenze für die Erfüllung einer Bedingung, c) der Terminus, d. h. der spezielle, einen Begriff genau begrenzende Ausdruck, d) die Bedingung (als die Grenze für ein Zugeständniss), e) terms pl., (die zugestandenen gegenseitigen Bedingungen) der Vertrag, der Vergleich.

are stanch⁷⁴⁾ and firm friends, and that they never desert a cause in which they have once taken a part."

He kept his word. Shah Alum had invested Patna, and was on the point of proceeding to storm, when he learned that the Colonel was advancing by forced marches. The whole army which was approaching consisted of only four hundred and fifty Europeans, and two thousand five hundred sepoy. But Clive and his Englishmen were now objects of dread over all the East. As soon as his advanced guard appeared, the besiegers fled before him. A few French adventurers who were about the person of the prince advised him to try the chance of battle; but in vain. In a few days this great army, which had been regarded with so much uneasiness by the court of Moorshedabad, melted away before the mere terror of the British name.

The conqueror returned in triumph to Fort William. The joy of Meer Jaffier was as unbounded as his fears had been, and led him to bestow on his preserver a princely token of gratitude. The quit-rent⁷⁵⁾ which the East India Company were bound to pay to the Nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta amounted to near thirty thousand pounds sterling a year. The whole of this splendid estate,⁷⁶⁾ sufficient to support with dignity the highest rank of the British peerage, was now conferred on Clive for life.

This present we think Clive justified in accepting. It was a present which, from its very nature, could be no secret. In fact, the Company itself was his tenant, and, by its acquiescence, signified its approbation of Meer Jaffier's grant.

But the gratitude of Meer Jaffier did not last long. He had for some time felt that the powerful ally who had set him up might pull him down, and had been looking round for support against the formidable strength by which he had himself been hitherto supported. He knew that it would be im-

⁷⁴⁾ spr. stansh. ⁷⁵⁾ the quit-rent, ursprünglich: der jährliche Zins, welchen ein Gutspächter zu zahlen hatte, um der an seinem Gute haftenden Lehnsdienste ledig (quit) zu sein. Fernerhin jeder an einem Territorium haftende, jährlich zu entrichtende Zins, „der Erbzins“. ⁷⁶⁾ estate (eigentlich: das Feststehende, lat. status), a) die Lage in Hinsicht auf die Vermögensumstände, b) das Vermögen, c) der Grundbesitz, das Gut, d) estates, pl., die Staaten, Stände, als politische Körperschaft.

possible to find among the natives of India any force which would look the Colonel's little army in the face. The French power in Bengal was extinct. But the fame of the Dutch had anciently been great in the Eastern seas; and it was not yet distinctly known in Asia how much the power of Holland had declined in Europe. Secret communications passed between the court of Moorshedabad and the Dutch factory at Chinsuráh; and urgent letters were sent from Chinsurah, exhorting the government of Batavia* to fit out an expedition which might balance the power of the English in Bengal. The authorities of Batavia, eager to extend the influence of their country, and still more eager to obtain for themselves a share of the wealth which had recently raised so many English adventurers to opulence, equipped a powerful armament. Seven large ships from Jàva⁷⁷⁾ arrived unexpectedly in the Hoogley. The military force on board amounted to fifteen hundred men, of whom about one half were Europeans. The enterprise was well timed. Clive had sent such large detachments to oppose the French in the Carnatic that his army was now inferior in number to that of the Dutch. He knew that Meer Jaffier secretly favoured the invaders. He knew that he took on himself a serious responsibility if he attacked the forces of a friendly power; that the English ministers could not wish to see a war with Holland added to that in which they were already engaged with France; that they might disavow his acts; that they might punish him. He had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe, through the Dutch East India Company; and he had therefore a strong interest in avoiding any quarrel. But he was satisfied, that if he suffered the Batavian armament to pass up the river and to join the garrison of Chinsurah, Meer Jaffier would throw himself into the arms of these new allies, and that the English ascendancy in Bengal would be exposed to most serious danger. He took his resolution with characteristic boldness, and was most ably seconded by his officers, particularly by Colonel Forde, to whom the most important part of the operations was intrusted. The Dutch attempted to force a passage. The English encountered them both by land and water. On both elements the enemy had a great superiority of force. On both they were signally defeated. Their ships

⁷⁷⁾ spr. beide a in Java mit deutschem a-Laut.

were taken. Their troops were put to a total rout. Almost all the European soldiers, who constituted the main strength of the invading army, were killed or taken. The conquerors sat down before Chinsurah; and the chiefs of that settlement, now thoroughly humbled, consented to the terms which Clive dictated. They engaged to build no fortifications, and to raise no troops beyond a small force necessary for the police⁷⁸⁾ of their factories; and it was distinctly provided⁷⁹⁾ that any violation of these covenants⁸⁰⁾ should be punished with instant expulsion from Bengal.

VI.

Clive's zweiter Aufenthalt in England. Wirren in Bengalen.

1760—1764.

Three months after this great victory, Clive sailed for England. At home, honours and rewards awaited him, not indeed equal to his claims or to his ambition, but still such as, when his age, his rank in the army, and his original place in society are considered, must be pronounced rare and splendid. He was raised to the Irish peerage,¹⁾ and encouraged to expect an English title.²⁾ George the Third,* who had

⁷⁸⁾ spr. *polèce*. ⁷⁹⁾ to provide (lat. *providere*, frz. *pourvoir*),
a) allgemein: Fürsorge für etwas treffen, etwas herbeischaffen,
b) speziell: durch schriftlichen Vertrag „festsetzen, stipuliren.“
⁸⁰⁾ covenant (zu frz. *convenir*, übereinkommen), das „Uebereinkommen, der Vertrag.“

¹⁾ Peers sind die Mitglieder des höchsten Adels in England, die als solche einen Sitz im Oberhause haben. Sie wurden peers (Genossen, frz. *pair*, lat. *par*) genannt in ihrer Eigenschaft als Begleiter des Königs. — Ein „peer“ ist demnach jeder lord; die beiden Titel unterscheiden sich nur in sofern, als lord (Brodherr) ursprünglich ein Verhältniss den Untergebenen gegenüber, peer dem Souverain gegenüber darstellt. Der höchste Adel hat wiederum fünf Rangstufen, die sich durch die Titel (*duke*, *marquis*, *earl*, *viscount*, *baron*) von einander unterscheiden. ²⁾ title, hier: einer der fünf „Adelstitel.“

just ascended the throne, received him with great distinction. The ministers paid him marked attention; and Pitt,* whose influence in the House of Commons and in the country was unbounded, was eager to mark his regard for one whose exploits had contributed so much to the lustre of that memorable period. The great orator had already in Parliament described Clive as a heaven-born general, as a man who, bred to the labour of the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of the King of Prussia. There were then no reporters in the gallery; but these words, emphatically spoken by the first statesman of the age, had passed from mouth to mouth, had been transmitted to Clive in Bengal, and had greatly delighted and flattered him. Indeed, since the death of Wolfe,* Clive was the only English general of whom his countrymen had much reason to be proud. The Duke of Cumberland had been generally unfortunate; and his single victory*, having been gained over his countrymen, and used with merciless severity, had been more fatal to his popularity than his many defeats. Conway, versed in the learning of his profession, and personally courageous, wanted vigour and capacity. Granby, honest, generous, and as brave as a lion, had neither science nor genius. Sackville, inferior in knowledge and abilities to none of his contemporaries, had incurred, unjustly as we believe, the imputation most fatal to the character of a soldier. It was under the command of a foreign general that the British had triumphed at Minden* and Warburg.* The people therefore, as was natural, greeted with pride and delight a captain of their own, whose native courage and self-taught skill had placed him on a level with the great tacticians of Germany.

The wealth of Clive was such as enabled him to vie with the first grandees of England. There remains proof that he had remitted more than a hundred and eighty thousand pounds through the Dutch East India Company, and more than forty thousand pounds through the English Company. The amount which he had sent home through private houses was also considerable. He had invested great sums in jewels, then a very common mode of remittance from India. His purchases of diamonds, at Madras alone, amounted to twenty-five thousand pounds. Besides a great mass of ready money, he had his Indian estate, valued by himself at twenty-seven thousand a year. His whole annual income, in the opinion of Sir John Malcolm, who is desirous to state it as low as possible, ex-

ceeded forty thousand pounds; and incomes of forty thousand pounds at the time of the accession of George the Third were at least as rare as incomes of a hundred thousand pounds now. We may safely affirm that no Englishman who started with nothing has ever, in any line of life, created such a fortune at the early age of thirty-four.

It would be unjust not to add that Clive made a creditable use of his riches. As soon as the battle of Plassey had laid the foundation of his fortune, he sent ten thousands pounds to his sisters, bestowed as much more on other poor friends and relations, ordered his agent to pay eight hundred a year to his parents, and to insist that they should keep a carriage, and settled five hundred a year on his old commander Lawrence, whose means were very slender. The whole sum which Clive expended in this manner may be calculated at fifty thousand pounds.

He now set himself to cultivate parliamentary interest. His purchases of land seem to have been made in a great measure with that view, and, after the general election of 1761, he found himself in the House of Commons, at the head of a body of dependents whose support must have been important to any administration. In English politics, however, he did not take a prominent part. His first attachments, as we have seen, were to Mr. Fox;* at a later period he was attracted by the genius and success of Mr. Pitt; but finally he connected himself in the closest manner with George Grenville.* Early in the session of 1764, when the illegal and impolitic persecution of that worthless *démagogue* Wilkes* had strongly excited the public mind,³⁾ the town was amused by an anecdote, which we have seen in some unpublished memoirs⁴⁾ of Hórāce Wálpōle.* Old Mr. Richard Clive, who, since his son's elevation, had been introduced into society for which his former habits had not well fitted him, presented himself at the *levée*. The King asked him where Lord Clive was. "He will be in town very soon," said the old gentleman, loud enough to be heard by the whole circle, "and then your Majesty will have another vote."

But in truth all Clive's views were directed towards the country in which he had so eminently distinguished himself

³⁾ the public mind: Die Stimmung der Gemüther. Siehe III, 14. ⁴⁾ spr. mémwar (a lautend wie der gleiche Buchstabe in war, Krieg.)

as a soldier and a statesman; and it was by considerations relating to India that his conduct as a public man in England was regulated. The power of the Company, though an anomaly,* is in our time, we are firmly persuaded, a beneficial anomaly. In the time of Clive, it was not merely an anomaly, but a nuisance.⁵⁾ There was no Board⁶⁾ of Contrôl.* The Directors were for the most part mere traders, ignorant of general politics, ignorant of the peculiarities of the empire which had strangely become subject to them. The Court⁷⁾ of Proprietors,* wherever it chose to interfere, was able to have its way. That court was more numerous, as well as more powerful than at present; for then every share of five hundred pounds conferred a vote. The meetings were large, stormy, even riotous, the debates indecently virulent. All the turbulence of a Westminster election,* all the trickery and corruption of a Grampound election,* disgraced the proceedings of this assembly on questions of the most solemn importance. Fictitious votes were manufactured on a gigantic scale. Clive himself laid out⁸⁾ a hundred thousand pounds in the purchase of stock,⁹⁾ which he then divided among nominal¹⁰⁾ proprietors on whom he could depend, and whom he brought down in his train, to every discussion and every ballot. Others did the same, though not to quite so enormous an extent.

The interest taken by the public of England in Indian questions was then far greater than at present, and the reason is obvious. At present a writer enters the service young; he climbs slowly; he is fortunate if, at forty-five, he can return to his country with an annuity of a thousand a year. and with savings amounting to thirty thousand pounds. A great quantity of wealth is made by English functionaries in India; but no single functionary makes a very large fortune, and what is made is slowly, hardly, and honestly

⁵⁾ spr. nuisance Die Bedeutung ist: etwas Gemeinschädliches, eine Gefahr. ⁶⁾ board, a) Brett, b) Verdeck eines Schiffes, c) Tisch, d) das, was am Tische genossen wird: Nahrung, Beköstigung, e) das, was um den Tisch versammelt ist: das Kollegium, der Rath. ⁷⁾ a court ist jede mit richterlicher Gewalt ausgestattete Versammlung. ⁸⁾ to lay out (nichts: auslegen für einen anderen, um es zurückzuerhalten, sondern) „anlegen, aufwenden.“ ⁹⁾ stock, siehe I, 21. ¹⁰⁾ nominal proprietors, nicht real pr., weil ihnen die Antheilscheine, auf die sie ihr Stimmrecht gründeten, nicht als wirkliches Eigenthum von Clive übergeben worden waren.

earned. Only four or five high political offices are reserved for public men¹¹⁾ from England. The residencies, the secretaryships, the seats in the boards of revenue* and in the Sudder courts,* are all filled by men who have given the best years of life to the service of the Company; nor can any talents however splendid or any connexions however powerful obtain those lucrative posts for any person who has not entered by the regular door, and mounted by the regular gradations. Seventy years ago, less money was brought home from the East than in our time. But it was divided among a very much smaller number of persons, and immense sums were often accumulated in a few months. Any Englishman, whatever his age might be, might hope to be one of the lucky emigrants. If he made a good speech in Léadenhall Street,* or published a clever pamphlet in defence of the chairman,¹²⁾ he might be sent out in the Company's service, and might return in three or four years as rich as Pigot* or as Clive. Thus the India House was a lottery office, which invited every body to take a chance,¹³⁾ and held out ducal fortunes as the prizes destined for the lucky few. As soon as it was known that there was a part of the world where a lieutenant-colonel had one morning received as a present an estate as large as that of the Earl of Bath* or the Marquis of Rockingham,* and where it seemed that such a trifle as ten or twenty thousand pounds was to be had by any British functionary for the asking,¹⁴⁾ society began to exhibit all the symptoms of the South Sea year,* a feverish excitement, an ungovernable impatience to be rich, a contempt for slow, sure, and moderate gains.

At the head of the preponderating party in the India House, had long stood a powerful, able, and ambitious director of the name of Súlván. He had conceived a strong jealousy of Clive, and remembered with bitterness the audacity with which the late governor of Bengal had repeatedly set at nought¹⁵⁾ the authority of the distant Directors* of the

¹¹⁾ a public man, „ein Staatsmann.“ ¹²⁾ chairman heisst der Vorsitzende, der Präsident einer Versammlung; the chair (frz. chaire) ist der Sitz für den Präsidenten. ¹³⁾ to take a chance (oder one's chance) „sein Glück versuchen.“ ¹⁴⁾ for the asking (für das Fragen) „für die blosser Anfrage.“ ¹⁵⁾ to set at nought (in's Nichts setzen) „missachten, unbeachtet lassen.“

Company. An apparent reconciliation took place after Clive's arrival; but enmity remained deeply rooted in the hearts of both. The whole body of Directors was then chosen annually. At the election of 1763, Clive attempted to break down the power of the dominant faction. The contest was carried on with a violence which he describes as tremendous. Sullivan was victorious, and hastened to take his revenge. The grant of rent which Clive had received from Meer Jaffier was, in the opinion of the best English lawyers, valid. It had been made by exactly the same authority from which the Company had received their chief possessions in Bengal, and the Company had long acquiesced¹⁶⁾ in it. The Directors, however, most unjustly determined to confiscate it, and Clive was forced to file¹⁷⁾ a bill in Chancery against them.

But a great and sudden turn in affairs was at hand. Every ship from Bengal had for some time brought alarming tidings. The internal misgovernment of the province had reached such a point that it could go no further. What, indeed, was to be expected from a body of public servants exposed to temptation such that, as Clive once said, flesh and blood could not bear it, armed with irresistible power, and responsible only to the corrupt, turbulent, distracted, ill-informed Company, situated at such a distance that the average interval between the sending of a despatch and the receipt of an answer was above a year and a half? Accordingly, during the five years which followed the departure of Clive from Bengal, the misgovernment of the English was carried to a point such as seems hardly compatible with the very existence of society. The Roman proconsul, who, in a year or two, squeezed out of a province the means of rearing marble palaces and baths on the shores of Campània, of drinking from amber, of feasting on singing birds, exhibiting armies of gladiators and flocks of cāmélōpards; the Spanish viceroy* who, leaving behind him the curses of Mexico or Lima¹⁸⁾ entered Madrid with a long train of gilded coaches and of sumpter-horses trapped and shod with silver, were

¹⁶⁾ spr. acquè-ëssed. ¹⁷⁾ a file (frz. file), a) ein „Faden“, b) das mit einem Faden zusammengeheftete „Aktenbündel“; to file, a) mit einem Faden zusammenheften, b) „ein Schriftstück öffentlich überreichen“. To file a bill in chancery, „beim Kanzleigericht eine Klageschrift einreichen“. ¹⁸⁾ spr. Lèma.

now outdone. Cruelty, indeed, properly so called, was not among the vices of the servants of the Company. But cruelty itself could hardly have produced greater evils than sprang from their unprincipled eagerness to be rich. They pulled down their creature, Meer Jaffier. They set up in his place another Nabob, named Meer Cossim. But Meer Cossim had talents and a will; and, though sufficiently inclined to oppress his subjects himself, he could not bear to see them ground to the dust by oppressions which yielded him no profit, nay, which destroyed his revenue in its very source. The English accordingly pulled down Meer Cossim, and set up Meer Jaffier again; and Meer Cossim, after revenging himself by a massacre surpassing in atrocity that of the Black Hole, fled to the dominions of the Nabob of Oude. At every one of these revolutions, the new prince divided among his foreign masters whatever could be scraped together from the treasury of his fallen predecessor. The immense population of his dominions was given up as a prey to those who had made him a sovereign, and who could unmake him. The servants of the Company obtained, not for their employers, but for themselves, a monópoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and to sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set¹⁹⁾ of native dependents who ranged through the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master; and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never under tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Surajah Dowlah. Under their old masters they had at least one resource: when the evil became insupportable, the people rose and pulled down the government. But the English government was not to be so shaken off. The government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong with all the strength of civilisation. It resembled the government of evil

¹⁹⁾ a set (ein Satz) bezeichnet eine Anzahl zusammengehöriger Gegenstände oder Personen.

Genii,²⁰⁾ rather than the government of human tyrants. Even despair could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of English breed, the hereditary nobility of mankind, whose skill and valour had so often triumphed in spite of tenfold odds. The unhappy race never attempted resistance. Sometimes they submitted in patient misery. Sometimes they fled from the white man, as their fathers had been used to fly from the Mahratta; and the palanquin of the English traveller was often carried through silent villages and towns, which the report of his approach had made desolate.

The foreign lords of Bengal were naturally objects of hatred to all the neighbouring powers; and to all the haughty race presented a dauntless²¹⁾ front. Their armies, every where outnumbered, were every where victorious. A succession of commanders, formed in the school of Clive, still maintained the fame of their country. "It must be acknowledged," says the Mussulman historian of those times, "that this nation's presence of mind, firmness of temper, and undaunted bravery, are past all question. They join the most resolute courage to the most cautious prudence; nor have they their equals in the art of ranging themselves in battle array and fighting in order. If to so many military qualifications they knew how to join the arts of government, if they exerted as much ingenuity²²⁾ and solicitude in relieving the people of God, as they do in whatever concerns their military affairs, no nation in the world would be preferable to them, or worthier of command. But the people under their dominion groan every where, and are reduced to poverty and distress. Oh God! come to the assistance of thine²³⁾ afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions which they suffer."

²⁰⁾ genius hat in seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung: „der Geist“ (als übernatürliches Wesen) seine ursprüngliche lateinische Pluralform beibehalten. Vgl. II, 30. ²¹⁾ dauntless (spr. au wie deutsches a) zu: to daunt, frz. dompter, lat. domitare (zu domare). ²²⁾ ingenuity gehört als Substantiv zugleich zu den beiden Adjektiven „ingenious“, scharfsinnig, und „ingenuous“, aufrichtig, hat aber gegenwärtig gewöhnlich die Bedeutung „Scharfsinn“. ²³⁾ Die volleren Formen des Possessivpronomens, mine, thine, sind die ursprünglichen. Sie wurden früher vor anlautendem Vokal oder h regelmässig als adjektivische Possessivformen angewandt, jetzt nur noch in besonders feierlicher Rede.

It was impossible, however, that even the military establishment²⁴⁾ should long continue exempt from the vices which pervaded every other part of the government. Rapacity, luxury, and the spirit of insubordination spread from the civil service to the officers of the army, and from the officers to the soldiers. The evil continued to grow till every mess-room* became the seat of conspiracy and cábál,* and till the sepoys could be kept in order only by wholesale²⁵⁾ executions.

At length the state of things in Bengal began to excite uneasiness at home. A succession of revolutions; a disorganized administration; the natives pillaged, yet the Company not enriched; every fleet bringing back fortunate adventurers who were able to purchase manors and to build stately dwellings, yet bringing back also alarming accounts of the financial prospects of the government; war on the frontiers; disaffection in the army; the national character disgraced by excesses resembling those of Verres* and Pizarro;* such was the spectacle which dismayed those who were conversant with Indian affairs. The general cry was that Clive, and Clive alone, could save the empire which he had founded.

This feeling manifested itself in the strongest manner at a very full General Court of Proprietors. Men of all parties, forgetting their feuds²⁶⁾ and trembling for their dividends, exclaimed that Clive was the man whom the crisis required, that the oppressive proceedings which had been adopted respecting his estate ought to be dropped, and that he ought to be entreated to return to India.

Clive rose. As to his estate, he said, he would make such propositions to the Directors as would, he trusted, lead to an amicable settlement. But there was a still greater difficulty. It was proper²⁷⁾ to tell them that he never would undertake the government of Bengal while his enemy Sullivan was chairman of the Company. The tumult was violent. Sullivan could scarcely obtain a hearing. An overwhelming

²⁴⁾ an establishment ist alles in festen Formen Eingerichtete, daher auch jede fest organisirte Macht. Vgl. II, 57. ²⁵⁾ wholesale, Grossverkauf; wholesale executions „Massenhinrichtungen“. ²⁶⁾ feud, „Streit, Hass“ (verwand mit Fehde und Feind) ist zu unterscheiden von feud, „Lehen“. ²⁷⁾ proper, a) eigenthümlich, b) den Anforderungen oder Umständen entsprechend, also: schicklich, anständig, gebührend, an der Ordnung.

majority of the assembly was on Clive's side. Sullivan wished to try the result of a ballot. But, according to the by-laws²⁸⁾ of the Company, there can be no ballot except on a requisition signed by nine proprietors; and, though hundreds were present, nine persons could not be found to set their hands to such a requisition.

Clive was in consequence nominated Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the British possessions in Bengal. But he adhered to his declaration, and refused to enter on his office till the event²⁹⁾ of the next election of Directors should be known. The contest was obstinate; but Clive triumphed. Sullivan, lately absolute master of the India House, was within³⁰⁾ a vote of losing his own seat; and both the chairman and the deputy-chairman³¹⁾ were friends of the new governor.

VII.

Lord Clive zum letzten Male in Indien. Reformen.

Mai 1765 — Januar 1767.

Such were the circumstances under which Lord Clive sailed for the third and last time to India. In May, 1765, he reached Calcutta; and he found the whole machine¹⁾ of government even more fearfully disorganized than he had anticipated. Meer Jaffier, who had some time before lost his eldest son Meeran, had died while Clive was on his voyage out. The English functionaries at Calcutta had already received from home strict orders not to accept presents from the native princes. But, eager for gain, and unaccustomed

²⁸⁾ laws sind die Gesetze, welche unter staatlicher Autorität gegeben werden. Die Gesetze oder Statuten einer Privatkorporation heissen „by-laws“. ²⁹⁾ event, siehe III, 3. ³⁰⁾ within... of drückt das Maass der Entfernung von einem Ziele aus, vgl. V, 43 „Er war eine Stimme davon entfernt, seinen Sitz zu verlieren,“ „er behielt sogar seinen Sitz nur mit einer Majorität von einer einzigen Stimme“. ³¹⁾ a deputy ist derjenige, welcher als bevollmächtigter Stellvertreter für Jemanden fungirt.

¹⁾ spr. mashène.

to respect the commands of their distant, ignorant, and negligent masters, they again set up the throne of Bengal to sale.²⁾ About one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling was³⁾ distributed among nine of the most powerful servants of the Company; and, in consideration of this bribe, an infant⁴⁾ son of the deceased Nabob was placed on the seat of his father. The news of the ignominious bargain met Clive on his arrival. In a private letter written immediately after his landing to an intimate friend, he poured out his feelings in language which, proceeding from a man so daring, so resolute, and so little given to theatrical display of sentiment, seems to us singularly touching. "Alas!" he says, "how is the English name sunk! I could not avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation — irrecoverably so, I fear. However, I do⁵⁾ declare, by that great Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be accountable if there be a hereafter, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption, and that I am determined to destroy these great and growing evils, or perish in the attempt."

The Council* met, and Clive stated to them his full determination to make a thorough reform, and to use for that purpose the whole of the ample authority, civil and military, which had been confided to him. Johnstone, one of the boldest and worst men in the assembly, made some show of opposition. Clive interrupted him, and haughtily demanded whether he meant to question the power of the new government. Johnstone was cowed, and disclaimed any such intention. All the faces round the board grew long and pale; and not another syllable of dissent was uttered.

Clive redeemed his pledge. He remained in India about a year and a half; and in that short time effected one of the most extensive, difficult, and salutary reforms that ever was accomplished by any statesman. This was the part of his life on which he afterwards looked back with most pride.

²⁾ to set up to (oder for) sale (zum Verkaufe aufsetzen) „feilbieten“. ³⁾ Bei pluralischem Subjekte gebraucht man das Prädikat im Singular; wenn man sich die im Subjecte ausgedrückte Menge in ihrer Totalität als eine Einheit veranschaulicht. Macaulay denkt hier an das Ganze der Summe, an den grossen Haufen Geldes. ⁴⁾ infant, unmündig, (zu lat. fari, vgl. frz. fait-il gleich dit-il), bedeutet in der Rechtssprache „minderjährig“. ⁵⁾ Vgl. II, 6.

He had it in his power to triple his already splendid fortune; to connive at abuses while pretending to remove them; to conciliate the good-will of all the English in Bengal, by giving up to their rapacity a helpless and timid race, who knew not where lay the island which sent forth their oppressors, and whose complaints had little chance of being heard across fifteen thousand miles of ocean. He knew that, if he applied himself in earnest to the work of reformation, he should raise every bad passion in arms against him. He knew how unscrupulous, how implacable, would be the hatred of those ravenous adventurers who, having counted on accumulating in a few months fortunes sufficient to support peerages, should find all their hopes frustrated. But he had chosen the good part; and he called up all the force of his mind for a battle far harder than that of Plassey. At first success seemed hopeless; but soon all obstacles began to bend before that iron courage and that vehement will. The receiving of presents from the natives was rigidly prohibited. The private trade of the servants of the Company was put down. The whole settlement seemed to be set, as one man, against these measures. But the inexorable governor declared that, if he could not find support at Fort William, he would procure it elsewhere, and sent for some civil servants from Madras to assist him in carrying on the administration. The most factious of his opponents he turned out of their offices. The rest submitted to what was inevitable; and in very short time all resistance was quelled.

But Clive was far too wise a man not to see that the recent abuses were partly to be ascribed to a cause which could not fail to produce similar abuses, as soon as the pressure of his strong hand was withdrawn. The Company had followed a mistaken policy with respect to the remuneration of its servants. The salaries were too low to afford even those indulgences which are necessary to the health and comfort of Europeans in a tropical climate. To lay by⁶⁾ a rupee from such scanty pay was impossible. It could not be supposed that men of even average abilities would consent to pass the best years of life in *exile*, under a burning sun, for no other consideration than these stinted wages. It had accord-

⁶⁾ by hat als Adverb die Bedeutung „bei Seite“; to lay by: bei Seite legen, sparen, erübrigen.

ingly been understood,⁷⁾ from a very early period, that the Company's agents were at liberty to enrich themselves by their private trade. This practice had been seriously injurious to the commercial interests of the corporation. That very intelligent observer, Sir Thomas⁸⁾ Roe, in the reign of James the First, strongly urged the Directors to apply a remedy to the abuse. "Absolutely prohibit the private trade," said he; "for your business will be better done. I know this is harsh. Men profess they come not for bare wages. But you will take away this plea if you give great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from."

In spite of this excellent advice, the Company adhered to the old system, paid low salaries, and connived at the indirect gains of the agents. The pay of a member of Council was only three hundred pounds a year. Yet it was notorious that such a functionary could not live in India for less than ten times that sum; and it could not be expected that he would be content to live even handsomely in India without laying up something against the time of his return to England. This system, before the conquest of Bengal, might affect the amount of the dividends payable to the proprietors, but could do little harm in any other way. But the Company was now a ruling body. Its servants might still be called factors, junior⁹⁾ merchants, senior merchants. But they were in truth *pro-consuls*, *proprætors*,¹⁰⁾ *procurators** of extensive regions. They had immense power. Their regular pay was universally admitted to be insufficient. They were, by the ancient usage of the service, and by the implied¹¹⁾ permission of their employers, warranted in enriching themselves by indirect means; and this had been the origin of the frightful oppression and corruption which had desolated Bengal. Clive saw clearly that it was absurd to give men power and to require them to live in penury. He justly concluded that no reform could be

⁷⁾ to understand, a) verstehen, einsehen, b) als selbstverständlich ansehen, und in Folge dessen: stillschweigend billigen. ⁸⁾ spr. Tomás. ⁹⁾ junior und senior beziehen sich a) auf den Unterschied im Lebens- oder Dienstalter; daneben aber b) auf den Unterschied in Rang und Würde, entsprechend den deutschen Präfixen Unter. . . . und Ober . . . ¹⁰⁾ spr. *proprætor*. ¹¹⁾ implied a) eingefaltet b) figürlich: in dem Sinne eines Wortes, einer Aeusserung, des Benehmens u. s. w. jemandes enthalten, ohne offen ausgesprochen zu sein; the implied permission „die stillschweigend zugestandene Erlaubniss“.

effectual which should not be coupled¹²⁾ with a plan for liberally remunerating the civil servants of the Company. The Directors, he knew, were not disposed to sanction any increase of the salaries out of their own treasury. The only course which remained open to the governor was one which exposed him to much misrepresentation, but which we think him fully justified in adopting. He appropriated to the support of the service¹³⁾ the monopoly of salt, which has formed, down to our own time, a principal head¹⁴⁾ of Indian revenue; and he divided the proceeds according to a scale which seems to have been not unreasonably fixed. He was in consequence accused by his enemies, and has been accused by historians, of disobeying his instructions, of violating his promises, of authorising that very abuse which it was his spécial mission to destroy, namely, the trade of the Company's servants. But every discerning and impartial judge will admit, that there was really nothing in common between the system which he set up and that which he was sent to destroy. The monopoly of salt had been a source of revenue to the governments of India before Clive was born. It continued to be so long after his death. The civil servants were clearly entitled to a maintenance out of the revenue; and all that Clive did was to charge a particular portion of the revenue with their maintenance. He thus, while he put an end to the practices by which gigantic fortunes had been rapidly accumulated, gave to every British functionary employed in the East the means of slowly, but surely, acquiring a competence.¹⁵⁾ Yet, such is the injustice of mankind that none of those acts which are the real stains of his life has drawn on him so much óbloquy as this measure, which was in truth a reform necessary to the success of all his other reforms.

He had quelled the opposition of the civil service: that of the army was more formidable. Some of the retrenchments¹⁶⁾ which had been ordered by the Directors affected

¹²⁾ spr. cúpled. ¹³⁾ service bezeichnet hier die gesammte Verwaltung. ¹⁴⁾ head, „Ueberschrift“, bezeichnet eigentlich den Titel der einzelnen Rubrik einer Abrechnung; daneben aber auch das, was unter einem solchen Titel steht, der „Posten“, das „Kapitel“ einer Berechnung. ¹⁵⁾ competence, a) die Befugniss, b) die Angemessenheit, und im Anschluss an letztere Bedeutung endlich das „angemessene, hinreichende Auskommen“. ¹⁶⁾ retrenchment, spr. rētrénshment (wörtlich: das Abschneiden, das Einschneiden, frz. retrencher), a) die „Verkürzung“, die „Einschränkung“, b) die Verschanzung.

the interests of the military service; and a storm arose, such as even Cæsar would not willingly have faced. It was no light thing to encounter the resistance of those who held the power of the sword, in a country governed only by the sword. Two hundred English officers engaged in a conspiracy against the government, and determined to resign their commissions on the same day, not doubting that Clive would grant any terms rather than see the army, on which alone the British empire in the East rested, left without commanders. They little knew the unconquerable spirit with which they had to deal. Clive had still a few officers round his person on whom he could rely. He sent to Fort St. George for a fresh supply. He gave commissions even to mercantile agents who were disposed to support him at this crisis; and he sent orders that every officer who resigned should be instantly brought up to Calcutta. The conspirators found that they had miscalculated. The governor was inexorable. The troops were steady. The sepoy, over whom Clive had always possessed extraordinary influence, stood by him with unshaken fidelity. The leaders in the plot were arrested, tried, and cashiered. The rest, humbled and dispirited, begged to be permitted to withdraw their resignations. Many of them declared their repentance even with tears. The younger offenders Clive treated with lenity. To the ringleaders¹⁷⁾ he was inflexibly severe; but his severity was pure from all taint of private malévolence. While he sternly upheld the just authority of his office, he passed by¹⁸⁾ personal insults and injuries with magnanimous disdain. One of the conspirators was accused of having planned the assassination of the governor; but Clive would not listen to the charge. "The officers," he said, "are Englishmen, not assassins."

While he reformed the civil service and established his authority over the army, he was equally successful in his foreign policy. His landing on Indian ground was the signal for immediate peace. The Nabob of Oude, with a large army, lay at that time on the frontier of Bahar. He had been joined by many Afghans and Mahrattas, and there was no small reason to expect a general coalition of all the native

¹⁷⁾ ring bedeutet hier den Ring beim Tanze, den „Reigen“; ringleader (Reigenführer) Anführer, „Rädelsführer“. ¹⁸⁾ by hier nicht Präposition, sondern Adverb: vorbei.

powers against the English. But the name of Clive quelled in an instant all opposition. The enemy implored peace in the humblest language, and submitted to such terms as the new governor chose to dictate.

At the same time, the government of Bengal was placed on a new footing. The power of the English in that province had hitherto been altogether undefined. It was unknown to the ancient constitution of the empire, and it had been ascertained by no compact. It resembled the power which, in the last decrepitude of the Western Empire, was exercised over Italy by the great chiefs of foreign mercenaries, the Ricimers* and the Odoacers,*¹⁹⁾ who put up and pulled down at their pleasure a succession of insignificant princes, dignified with the names of Cæsar and Augustus. But as in Italy, so in India, the warlike strangers at length found it expedient to give to a domination which had been established by arms the sanction of law and ancient prescription. Thēódōric* thought it politic to obtain from the distant court of Byzantium²⁰⁾ a commission appointing him ruler of Italy; and Clive, in the same manner, applied to the Court of Delhi for a formal grant of the powers of which he already possessed the reality. The Mogul was absolutely helpless; and, though he murmured, had reason to be well pleased that the English were disposed to give solid rupees which he never could have extorted from them, in exchange for a few Persian characters²¹⁾ which cost him nothing. A bargain was speedily struck; and the titular sovereign of Hindostan issued a warrant, empowering the Company to collect and administer the revenues of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

There was still a Nabob, who stood to the British authorities in the same relation in which the last drivelling Chilperics and Childerics* of the Merovingian line stood to their able and vigorous Mayors of the Palace, to Charles Martél* and to Pepin. At one time Clive had almost made up his mind²²⁾ to discard this phantom altogether; but he afterwards thought that it might be convenient still to use the name of the Nabob, particularly in dealings with other European

¹⁹⁾ spr. Odōàser. ²⁰⁾ spr. bīzànshium. ²¹⁾ character, a) Charakter, b) „Schriftzug, Buchstabe“, c) Handschriften. ²²⁾ to make up, voll machen, vollenden; to make up one's mind, seine Entschliessung vollenden; „sich entschliessen“, Vgl. III, 14.

nations. The French, the Dutch, and the Danes, would, he conceived, submit far more readily to the authority of the native Prince, whom they had always been accustomed to respect, than to that of rival trading corporation. This policy may, at that time, have been judicious. But the pretence was soon found to be too flimsy to impose on any body; and it was altogether laid aside. The heir of Meer Jaffier still resides at Moorshedabad, the ancient capital of his house, still bears the title of Nabob, is still accosted by the English as "Your Highness," and is still suffered to retain a portion of the regal state which surrounded his ancestors. A pension of a hundred and sixty thousand pounds a year is annually paid to him by the government. His carriage is surrounded by guards, and preceded by attendants with silver maces. His person and his dwelling are exempted from the ordinary authority of the ministers²³⁾ of justice. But he has not the smallest share of political power, and is, in fact, only a noble and wealthy subject of the Company.

It would have been easy for Clive, during his second administration in Bengal, to accumulate riches such as no subject in Europe possessed. He might indeed, without subjecting the rich inhabitants of the province to any pressure beyond that to which their mildest rulers had accustomed them, have received presents to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds a year. The neighbouring princes would gladly have paid any price for his favour. But he appears to have strictly adhered to the rules which he had laid down for the guidance of others. The Ràjah of Benàres* offered him diamonds of great value. The Nabob of Oude pressed him to accept a large sum of money and a casket of costly jewels. Clive courteously, but péremptorily refused: and it should be observed that he made no merit of his refusal, and that the facts did not come to light till after his death. He kept an exact account of his salary, of his share of the profits accruing from the trade in salt, and of those presents which, according to the fashion of the East, it would be churlish²⁴⁾ to refuse. Out of the sum arising from these resources he

²³⁾ minister (lat. minor, daher ursprünglich: der Untergebene) a) der Diener, b) der Diener der Kirche, der Geistliche, c) der Minister (als erster Diener des Monarchen). ²⁴⁾ churl (verwandt mit Kerl) bezeichnet einen ungeschliffenen Mann; churlisch daher „ungeschliffen“.

defrayed the expenses of his situation. The surplus he divided among a few attached friends who had accompanied him to India. He always boasted, and, as far as we can judge, he boasted with truth, that his last administration diminished instead of increasing his fortune.

One large sum indeed he accepted. Meer Jaffier had left him by will above sixty thousand pounds sterling in specie²⁵⁾ and jewels: and the rules which had been recently laid down extended only to presents from the living, and did not affect légacies from the dead. Clive took the money, but not for himself. He made the whole over to the Company, in trust²⁶⁾ for officers and soldiers invalided in their service. The fund which still bears his name owes its origin to this princely donation.

VIII.

Lord Clive's letzte Rückkehr nach England und sein Tod.

1767—1774.

After a stay of eighteen months, the state of his health made it necessary for him to return to Europe. At the close of January, 1767, he quitted for the last time the country on whose destinies he had exercised so mighty an influence.

His second return from Bengal was not, like his first, greeted by the acclamations of his countrymen. Numerous causes were already at work which embittered the remaining years of his life, and hurried him to an untimely grave. His old enemies at the India House* were still powerful and active; and they had been reinforced by a large band of allies whose violence far exceeded their own. The whole crew of pilferers

²⁵⁾ specie, spr. spèshē (lat. species, das Aussehen, die Gestalt, die Form), ist das sichtbare, stoffliche Geld gegenüber der Anweisung, daher: geprägte Münze, baares Geld.
²⁶⁾ trust, a) das Vertrauen, b) als Konkretum: das anvertraute Geld, das „Depositum“.

and oppressors from whom he had rescued Bengal persecuted him with the implacable rancour which belongs to such abject natures. Many of them even invested their property in India stock, merely that they might be better able to annoy the man whose firmness had set bounds to their rapacity. Lying newspapers were set up for no purpose but to abuse him; and the temper¹⁾ of the public mind was then such, that these arts, which under ordinary circumstances would have been ineffectual against truth and merit, produced an extraordinary impression.

The great events which had taken place in India had called into existence a new class of Englishmen, to whom their countrymen gave the name of Nabobs. These persons had generally sprung from families neither ancient nor opulent; they had generally been sent at an early age to the East; and they had there acquired large fortunes, which they had brought back to their native land. It was natural that, not having had much opportunity of mixing with the best society, they should²⁾ exhibit some of the awkwardness and some of the pomposity of úpstarts. It was natural that, during their sojourn in Asia, they should have acquired some tastes and habits surprising, if not disgusting, to persons who never had quitted Europe. It was naturel that, having enjoyed great consideration in the East, they should not be disposed to sink into obscurity at home; and as they had money, and had not birth or high connexion, it was natural that they should display a little obtrusively the single advantage which they possessed. Wherever they settled there was a kind of feud between them and the old nobility and gentry, similar to that which raged in France between the farmer-general* and the marquis. This enmity to the aristocracy long continued to distinguish the servants of the Company. More than twenty years after the time of which we are now speaking, Burke pronounced that among the Jacobins* might be reckoned "the East Indians almost to a man, who cannot bear to find that their present importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth."

¹⁾ the temper (zu lat. temperare, mischen) bedeutet entweder die „Mischung“, oder die aus einer besonderen Mischung hervorgehende Beschaffenheit oder Natur eines Dinges, einer Empfindung u. s. w. ²⁾ Vgl. V, 44.

The Nabobs soon became a most unpopular class of men. Some of them had in the East displayed eminent talents, and rendered great services to the state; but at home their talents were not shown to advantage, and their services were little known. That they had sprung from obscurity, that they had acquired great wealth, that they exhibited it insolently, that they spent it extravagantly, that they raised the price of every thing in their neighbourhood, from fresh eggs to rotten boroughs, that their liveries outshone those of dukes, that their coaches were finer than that of the Lord Mayor, that the examples of their large and ill-governed households corrupted half the servants in the country, that some of them, with all their magnificence, could not catch the tone of good society, but, in spite of the stud³⁾ and the crowd of menials, of the plate and the Dresden⁴⁾ china, of the venison and the Burgundy, were still low men; these were things which excited, both in the class from which they had sprung and in the class into which they attempted to force themselves, the bitter aversion which is the effect of mingled envy and contempt. But when it was also rumoured that the fortune which had enabled its possessor to eclipse the Lord-Lieutenant on the race-ground, or to carry the county against the head of a house as old as Domesday Book,* had been accumulated by violating public faith, by deposing legitimate princes, by reducing whole provinces to beggary, all the higher and better as well as all the low and evil parts of human nature were stirred against the wretch who had obtained by guilt and dishonour the riches which he now lavished with arrogant and inelegant profusion. The unfortunate Nabob seemed to be made up of those foibles against which comedy has pointed the most merciless ridicule, and of those crimes which have thrown the deepest gloom over tragedy, of Turcaret* and Nero,* of Monsieur⁵⁾ Jourdain* and Richard the Third.* A tempest of execration and derision, such as can be compared only to that outbreak of public feeling against the Puritans* which took place at the time of the Restoration,* burst on the servants of the Company. The humane man was horror-struck at the way in which

³⁾ Das Kollektiv the stud, „die Pferde, der Marstall“ (zu dem deutschen „Stute“ gehörig) ist mit the stud (deutsch: Staude), der „Stamm“, nicht verwandt. ⁴⁾ spr. Dresden wie im Deutschen. ⁵⁾ spr. müssèu (nach Walker; Webster spricht „mossèer“).

they had got their money, the thrifty man at the way in which they spent it. The dilettante sneered at their want of taste. The macaroni ⁶⁾ black-balled ⁷⁾ them as vulgar fellows. Writers the most unlike in sentiment and style, methodists and libertines, philosophers and buffoons, were for once on the same side. It is hardly too much to say that, during a space of about thirty years, the whole lighter literature of England was coloured by the feelings which we have described. Foote* brought on the stage an Anglo-Indian chief, dissolute, ungenerous, and tyrannical, ashamed of the humble friends of his youth, hating the aristocracy, yet childishly eager to be numbered among them, squandering his wealth on pandars* and flatterers, tricking out his chairmen with the most costly hothouse flowers, and astounding the ignorant with jargon about rupees, lacs, and jaghires.⁸⁾ Mackenzie*, with more delicate humour, depicted a plain country family raised by the Indian acquisitions of one of its members to sudden opulence, and exciting derision by an awkward mimicry of the manners of the great. Cowper*, in that lofty expostulation which glows with the very spirit of the Hebrew poets*, placed the oppression of India foremost in the list of those national crimes for which God had punished England with years of disastrous war, with discomfiture in her own seas, and with the loss of her transatlantic empire. If any of our readers will take the trouble to search in the dusty recesses of circulating libraries⁹⁾ for some novel published sixty years ago, the chance is that the villain or subvillain of the story will prove to be a savage old Nabob, with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart.

Such, as far as we can now judge, was the feeling of the country respecting Nabobs in general. And Clive was eminently the Nabob, the ablest, the most celebrated, the highest in rank, the highest in fortune, of all the fraternity. His wealth was exhibited in a manner which could not fail to excite odium. He lived with greath magnificence in Berkeley¹⁰⁾

⁶⁾ macaroni, hier: der „Stutzer“. ⁷⁾ to black-ball, jemandem bei der Ballotage eine schwarze Kugel geben, gegen seine Aufnahme stimmen. ⁸⁾ a jaghire, spr. jagger, ist ein Stück Landes, welches von der britisch-ostindischen Regierung als Belohnung für abgeleistete Militärdienste angewiesen wird. ⁹⁾ a circulating library (eine Bibliothek, deren Bücher circuliren, von einer Hand in die andere übergehen), eine „Leihbibliothek“. ¹⁰⁾ spr. bürklē.

Square.* He reared one palace in Shropshire and another at Claremont.* His parliamentary influence might vie with that of the greatest families. But in all this splendour and power envy found something to sneer at. On some of his relations wealth and dignity seem to have sat¹¹⁾ as awkwardly as on Mackenzie's Margery Mushroom.* Nor was he himself, with all his great qualities, free from those weaknesses which the satirists of that age represented as characteristic of his whole class. In the field, indeed, his habits were remarkably simple. He was constantly on horseback, was never seen but in his uniform, never wore silk, never entered a palanquin, and was content with the plainest fare. But when he was no longer at the head of an army, he laid aside this Spartan temperance for the ostentatious luxury of a *Sýbarīte*.* Though his person was ungraceful, and though his harsh features were redeemed from vulgar ugliness only by their stern, dauntless, and commanding expression, he was fond of rich and gay clothing, and replenished his wardrobe with absurd profusion. Sir John Malcolm gives us a letter, in which Clive orders "two hundred shirts, the best and finest that can be got for love or money." A few follies of this description, grossly exaggerated by report, produced an unfavourable impression on the public mind. But this was not the worst. Black stories, of which the greater part were pure inventions, were circulated respecting his conduct in the East. He had to bear the whole odium, not only of those bad acts to which he had once or twice stooped, but of all the bad acts of all the English in India, of bad acts committed when he was absent, nay of bad acts which he had manfully opposed and severely punished. The very abuses against which he had waged an honest, resolute, and successful war, were laid to his account. He was, in fact, regarded as the personification of all the vices and weaknesses which the public, with or without reason, ascribed to the English adventurers in Asia. We have ourselves heard old men, who knew nothing of his history, but who still retained the prejudices conceived in their youth, talk of him as an incarnate fiend. Johnson* always held this language. Brown,* whom Clive employed to lay out his pleasure grounds¹²⁾, was amazed to see in the house of his noble

¹¹⁾ to sit on sbd. jemandem „anstehen“, ihm „sitzen“.

¹²⁾ pleasure grounds sind die Rasenplätze vor der Front oder zu den Seiten eines Landhauses.

employer a chest which had once been filled with gold from the treasury of Moorshedabad, and could not understand how the conscience of the criminal could suffer him to sleep with such an object so near to his bedchamber. The peasantry of Surrey looked with mysterious horror on the stately house which was rising at Claremont, and whispered that the great wicked lord had ordered the walls to be made so thick in order to keep out the devil, who would one day carry him away bodily. Among the gaping clowns¹³⁾ who drank in this frightful story was a worthless ugly lad of the name of Hunter, since widely known as William Huntington, S. S. ;* and the superstition which was strangely mingled with the knavery of that remarkable impostor seems to have derived no small nutriment from the tales which he heard of the life and character of Clive.

In the mean time, the impulse which Clive had given to the administration of Bengal was constantly becoming fainter and fainter. His policy was to a great extent abandoned; the abuses which he had suppressed began to revive; and at length the evils which a bad government had engendered were aggravated by one of those fearful visitations which the best government cannot avert. In the summer of 1770, the rains failed; the earth was parched up; the tanks were empty; the rivers shrank within their beds; and a famine, such as is known only in countries where every household depends for support on its own little patch of cultivation,¹⁴⁾ filled the whole valley of the Ganges with misery and death. Tender and delicate women, whose veils¹⁵⁾ had never been lifted before the public gaze, came forth from the inner chambers in which Eastern jealousy had kept watch over their beauty, threw themselves on the earth before the passers-by, and, with loud wailings, implored a handful of rice for their children. The Hoogley every day rolled down thousands of corpses close to the porticoes and gardens of the English conquerors. The very streets of Calcutta were blocked up by the dying and the dead. The lean and feeble survivors had not energy enough to bear the bodies of their kindred to

¹³⁾ clown (wörtlich „der Bauer“, lat. colonus), Tölpel, Grobian. ¹⁴⁾ cultivation, „Bebauung, Kultur“, hat hier einen konkreten Begriff: Ackerland. ¹⁵⁾ spr. vâles.

the funeral pile¹⁶⁾ or to the holy river, or even to scare away the jackals¹⁷⁾ and vultures, who fed on human remains in the face of day. The extent of the mortality was never ascertained; but it was popularly reckoned by millions. This melancholy intelligence added to the excitement which already prevailed in England on Indian subjects. The proprietors of East India stock were uneasy about their dividends. All men of common humanity were touched by the calamities of our unhappy subjects; and indignation soon began to mingle itself with pity. It was rumoured that the Company's servants had created the famine by engrossing¹⁸⁾ all the rice of the country; that they had sold grain for eight, ten, twelve times the price at which they had bought it; that one English functionary who, the year before, was not worth a hundred guineas, had, during that season of misery, remitted sixty thousand pounds to London. These charges we believe to have been unfounded. That servants of the Company had ventured, since Clive's departure, to deal in rice, is probable. That, if they dealt in rice, they must have gained by the scarcity, is certain. But there is no reason for thinking that they either produced or aggravated an evil which physical causes sufficiently explain. The outcry which was raised against them on this occasion was, we suspect, as absurd as the imputations which, in times of dearth at home, were once thrown by statesmen and judges, and are still thrown by two or three old women, on the corn factors. It was, however, so loud and so general that it appears to have imposed even on an intellect raised so high above vulgar prejudices as that of Adam Smith.* What was still more extraordinary, these unhappy events greatly increased the unpopularity of Lord Clive. He had been some years in England when the famine took place. None of his measures had the smallest tendency to produce such a calamity. If the servants of the Company had traded in rice, they had done so in direct contravention of the rule which he had laid down, and, while in power, had resolutely enforced. But, in the eyes of his countrymen, he was, as we have said, the Nabob, the Anglo-Indian char-

¹⁶⁾ funeral pile, „Scheiterhaufen“. Ein solcher wird von den Engländern „pile“ genannt, weil der zum Feuertode Bestimmte an einem senkrechten, aus dem Holzstosse hervorragenden Pfahle befestigt wurde. ¹⁷⁾ spr. jákawl. ¹⁸⁾ to engross, spr. engròce, (zu frz. „en gros“): im Grossen einkaufen, aufkaufen.

acter personified; and, while he was building and planting in Surrey, he was held responsible for all the effects of a dry season in Bengal.

Parliament had hitherto bestowed very little attention on our Eastern possessions. Since the death of George the Second, a rapid succession of weak administrations, each of which was in turn flattered and betrayed by the Court, had held the semblance of power. Intrigues in the palace, riots in the capital, and insurrectionary movements in the American colonies, had left the advisers of the Crown little leisure to study Indian politics. Where they did interfere, their interference was feeble and irresolute. Lord Chatham*,¹⁹⁾ indeed, during the short period of his ascendancy in the councils of George the Third, had meditated a bold and sweeping measure respecting the acquisitions of the Company. But his plans were rendered abortive by the strange malady which about that time began to overcloud his splendid genius.

At length, in 1772, it was generally felt that Parliament could no longer neglect the affairs of India. The Government was stronger than any which had held power since the breach between Mr. Pitt and the great Whig connexion in 1761. No pressing question of domestic or European policy required the attention of public men. There was a short and delusive lull between two tempests. The excitement produced by the Middlesex election* was over; the discontents of America did not yet threaten civil war; the financial difficulties of the Company brought on a crisis; the Ministers were forced to take up the subject; and the whole storm, which had long been gathering, now broke at once on the head of Clive.

His situation was indeed singularly unfortunate. He was hated throughout the country, hated at the India House, hated, above all, by those wealthy and powerful servants of the Company, whose rapacity and tyranny he had withstood. He had to bear the double odium of his bad and of his good actions, of every Indian abuse and of every Indian reform. The state of the political world was such that he could count on the support of no powerful connexion. The party to which he had belonged, that of George Grenville,* had

¹⁹⁾ spr. chátam.

been hostile to the Government, and yet had never cordially united with the other sections of the Opposition, with the little band which still followed the fortunes of Lord Chatham, or with the large and respectable body of which Lord Rockingham* was the acknowledged leader. George Grenville was now dead; his followers were scattered; and Clive, unconnected with any of the powerful factions which devided the Parliament, could reckon only on the votes of those members who were returned by himself. His enemies, particularly those who were the enemies of his virtues, were unscrupulous, ferocious, implacable. Their malevolence aimed at nothing less than the utter ruin of his fame and fortune. They wished to see him expelled from Parliament, to see his spurs chopped off, to see his estate confiscated; and it may be doubted whether even such a result as this would have quenched their thirst for revenge.

Clive's parliamentary tactics resembled his military tactics. Deserted, surrounded, outnumbered, and with every thing at stake, he did not even deign²⁰⁾ to stand on the defensive, but pushed boldly forward to the attack. At an early stage²¹⁾ of the discussions on Indian affairs he rose, and in a long and elaborate speech vindicated himself from a large part of the accusations which had been brought against him. He is said to have produced a great impression on his audience. Lord Chatham who, now the ghost of his former self, loved to haunt the scene of his glory, was that night under the gallery of the House of Commons, and declared that he had never heard a finer speech. It was subsequently printed under Clive's direction, and, when the fullest allowance has been made for the assistance which he may have obtained from literary friends, proves him to have possessed, not merely strong sense and a manly spirit, but talents both for disquisition and declamation which assiduous culture might have improved into the highest excellence. He confined his defence on this occasion to the measures of his last administration, and succeeded so far that his enemies thenceforth thought it expedient to direct their attacks chiefly against the earlier part of his life.

²⁰⁾ spr. dâne. ²¹⁾ stage, lat. staticus, frz. étage, früher estage: das, worauf jemand stehen soll oder stehend verweilt, daher a) Gerüst, b) Bühne, c) Stufe (auch bildlich), d) Station, Haltestelle.

The earlier part of his life unfortunately presented some assailable points to their hostility. A committee was chosen by ballot to inquire into the affairs of India; and by this committee the whole history of that great revolution which threw down Surajah Dowlah and raised Meer Jaffier was sifted with malignant care. Clive was subjected to the most unsparing examination and cross-examination, and afterwards bitterly complained that he, the Baron of Plassey, had been treated like a sheep-stealer. The boldness and ingenuousness of his replies would alone suffice to show how alien²²⁾ from his nature were the frauds to which, in the course of his Eastern negotiations, he had sometimes descended. He avowed the arts which he had employed to deceive Omichund, and resolutely said that he was not ashamed of them, and that, in the same circumstances, he would again act in the same manner. He admitted that he had received immense sums from Meer Jaffier; but he denied that, in doing so, he had violated any obligation of morality or honour. He laid claim, on the contrary, and not without some reason, to the praise of eminent disinterestedness. He described in vivid language the situation in which his victory had placed him; a great prince dependent on his pleasure; an opulent city afraid of being given up to plunder; wealthy bankers bidding against each other for his smiles; vaults piled with gold and jewels thrown open to him alone. "By God! Mr. Chairman," he exclaimed, "at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation."

The inquiry was so extensive that the Houses rose before it had been completed. It was continued in the following session. When at length the committee had concluded its labours, enlightened and impartial men had little difficulty in making up their minds as to the result. It was clear that Clive had been guilty of some acts which it is impossible to vindicate without attacking the authority of all the most sacred laws which regulate the intercourse of individuals and of states. But it was equally clear that he had displayed great talents, and even great virtues; that he had rendered eminent services both to his country and to the people of India; and that it was in truth not for his dealings with Meer Jaffier nor for the fraud which he had practised on Omichund, but for his

²²⁾ spr. ālè-yen.

determined resistance to avarice and tyranny, that he was now called in question.²³⁾

Ordinary criminal justice knows nothing of set-off.²⁴⁾ The greatest desert cannot be pleaded²⁵⁾ in answer to a charge of the slightest transgression. If a man has sold beer on Sunday morning, it is no defence that he has saved the life of a fellow-creature at the risk of his own. If he has harnessed a Newfoundland dog to his little child's carriage, it is no defence that he was wounded at Waterloo. But it is not in this way that we ought to deal with men who, raised far above ordinary restraints, and tried by far more than ordinary temptations, are entitled to a more than ordinary measure of indulgence. Such men should be judged by their contemporaries as they will be judged by posterity. Their bad actions ought not, indeed, to be called good; but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed; and, if on the whole the good preponderate, the sentence ought to be one, not merely of acquittal, but of approbation. Not a single great ruler in history can be absolved by a judge who fixes his eye inexorably on one or two unjustifiable acts. Bruce* the deliverer of Scotland, Maurice* the deliverer of Germany, William* the deliverer of Holland, his great descendant the deliverer of England, Murray* the good regent, Cosmo* the father of his country, Henry the Fourth* of France, Peter the Great* of Russia, how would the best of them pass such a scrutiny? History takes wider views; and the best tribunal for great political cases is the tribunal which anticipates the verdict of history.

Reasonable and moderate men of all parties felt this in Clive's case. They could not pronounce him blameless; but they were not disposed to abandon him to that low-minded and rancorous pack who had run him down and were eager to worry him to death. Lord North,* though not very friendly to him, was not disposed to go to extremities against him. While the inquiry was still in progress, Clive, who had some

²³⁾ question, a) Frage, b) Befragung, Verhör; to call in question, „zur Verantwortung ziehen“. ²⁴⁾ to set off smth. „etwas heraussetzen, hervortreten lassen“, und zwar entweder zum Zwecke der Ausschmückung, oder als Gegengewicht zu etwas anderem; the set off daher a) der Schmuck, b) die Gegenrechnung, die Kompensation. ²⁵⁾ to plead, „als Vertheidiger auftreten“; to plead smth. „etwas zu seiner Entschuldigung oder Rechtfertigung anführen“.

years before been created a Knight of the Bath,* was installed with great pomp in Henry the Seventh's Chapel.* He was soon after appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Shropshire. When he kissed hands, George the Third, who had always been partial to him, admitted him to a private audience, talked to him half an hour on Indian politics, and was visibly affected when the persecuted general spoke of his services and of the way in which they had been requited.

At length the charges came in a definite form before the House of Commons. Búrgoyne, chairman of the committee, a man of wit, fashion, and honour, an agreeable dramatic writer, an officer whose courage was never questioned and whose skill was at that time highly esteemed, appeared as the accuser. The members of the administration took different sides; for in that age all questions were open questions,* except such as were brought forward by the Government, or such as implied some censure on the Government. Thúrlōw, the Attórney-General,* was among the assailants. Wedderburne, the Solícitor-General, strongly attached to Clive, defended his friend with extraordinary force of argument and language. It is a curious circumstance that, some years later, Thurlow was the most conspicuous champion of Warren Hastings, while Wedderburne was among the most unrelenting pèrsecutors of that great though not faultless statesman. Clive spoke in his own defence at less length and with less art than in the preceding year, but with much energy and pathos. He recounted his great actions and his wrongs; and, after bidding his hearers remember that they were about to decide not only on his honour but on their own, he retired from the House.

The Commons resolved ²⁶⁾ that acquisitions made by the arms of the State belong to the State alone, and that it is illegal in the servants of the State to appropriate such acquisitions to themselves. They resolved that this wholesome rule appeared to have been systematically violated by the English functionaries in Bengal. On a subsequent day they went a step farther, and resolved that Clive had, by means of the power which he possessed as commander of the British forces in India, obtained large sums from Meer Jaffier. Here the

²⁶⁾ to resolve, a) festsetzen, dass etwas geschehen soll, „beschliessen“, b) festsetzen durch eine feierliche Erklärung, dass etwas stattgefunden hat, „konstatiren“.

House stopped. They had voted the major and minor²⁷⁾ of Burgoyne's syllogism; but they shrank from drawing the logical conclusion. When it was moved²⁸⁾ that Lord Clive had abused his powers, and set an evil example to the servants of the public, the previous question²⁹⁾ was put and carried.³⁰⁾ At length, long after the sun had risen on an animated debate, Wedderburne moved that Lord Clive had at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country; and this motion passed without a division.³¹⁾

The result of this memorable inquiry appears to us, on the whole, honourable to the justice, moderation, and discernment of the Commons. They had indeed no great temptation to do wrong. They would have been very bad judges of an accusation brought against Jenkinson* or against Wilkes. But the question respecting Clive was not a party question; and the House accordingly acted with the good sense and good feeling which may always be expected from an assembly of English gentlemen, not blinded by faction.

The équitale and temperate proceedings of the British Parliament were set off to the greatest advantage by a foil. The wretched government of Louis the Fifteenth* had murdered, directly or indirectly, almost every Frenchman who had served his country with distinction in the East. Labourdonnais was flung into the Bastille,³²⁾ and, after years of suffering, left it only to die. Dupleix, stripped of his immense fortune, and broken-hearted by humiliating attendance in antechambers, sank into an obscure grave. Lally* was dragged to the common place of execution with a gag between his lips. The Commons of England, on the other hand, treated their living captain with that discriminating justice which is seldom shown except to the dead. They laid down sound general principles; they delicately pointed out where he had deviated from those principles; and they tempered the gentle censure with liberal eulogy. The contrast struck Voltaire,* always

²⁷⁾ „major“ und „minor“ sind die beiden Prämissen eines Syllogismus, major der Obersatz, minor der Untersatz; der Schlusssatz heisst „conclusion“. ²⁸⁾ to move, „bewegen“, bedeutet in der parlamentarischen Sprache: „beantragen, zur Abstimmung bringen“. Dazu das Substantiv motion, „der Antrag“. ²⁹⁾ the previous question, „die Vorfrage“, ist die Frage, ob überhaupt über einen Antrag debattirt werden soll oder nicht. ³⁰⁾ Vgl. IV, 17. ³¹⁾ without a division „einstimmig“; vgl. IV, 17. ³²⁾ spr. bastèel.

partial to England, and always eager to expose the abuses of the Parliaments of France. Indeed he seems, at this time, to have meditated a history of the conquest of Bengal. He mentioned his design to Dr. Moore* when that amusing writer visited him at Ferney. Wedderburne took great interest in the matter, and pressed Clive to furnish materials. Had the plan been carried into execution, we have no doubt that Voltaire would have produced a book containing much lively and picturesque narrative, many just and humane sentiments poignantly ³³⁾ expressed, many grotésque blunders, many sneers at the Mōsaic chronology, much scandal about the Catholic missionaries, and much sublime thèō-philánthropy, stolen from the New Testament, and put into the mouths of virtuous and philosophical Brahmins. ³⁴⁾

Clive was now secure in the enjoyment of his fortune and his honours. He was surrounded by attached friends and relations; and he had not yet passed the season of vigorous bodily and mental exertion. But clouds had long been gathering over his mind, and now settled on it in thick darkness. From early youth he had been subject to fits of that strange melancholy "which rejoiceth ³⁵⁾ exceedingly and is glad when it can find the grave." While still a writer at Madras, he had twice attempted to destroy himself. Business and prosperity had produced a salutary effect on his spirits. In India, while he was occupied by great affairs, in England, while wealth and rank had still the charm of novelty, he had borne up against his constitutional misery. But he had now nothing to do, and nothing to wish for. His active spirit in an inactive situation drooped and withered like a plant in an uncongenial air. The malignity with which his enemies had pursued him, the indignity with which he had been treated by the committee, the censure, lenient as it was, which the House of Commons had pronounced, the knowledge that he was regarded by a large portion of his countrymen as a cruel and perfidious tyrant, all concurred to irritate and depress him. In the mean time, his temper ³⁶⁾ was tried by acute physical

³³⁾ g ist stumm in „poignant“. ³⁴⁾ spr. bràmin, mit deutschem a-Laute. ³⁵⁾ rejoiceth ist eine veraltete Form. In Südengland war früher th die Endung der dritten Person des Singular im Indikativ des Präsens. ³⁶⁾ temper ist hier auf die Natur oder Beschaffenheit seiner Empfindung (vgl. VIII, 1) zu beziehen, „his temper“ daher „seine Stimmung“. In „distemper“ (weiter unten) weist „temper“ auf die normale Beschaffenheit des Körpers hin, „distemper“ also: Krankheit.

suffering. During his long residence in tropical climates he had contracted several painful distempers. In order to obtain ease he called in the help of opium; and he was gradually enslaved by this treacherous ally. To the last, however, his genius occasionally flashed through the gloom. It is said that he would sometimes, after sitting silent and torpid for hours, rouse himself to the discussion of some great question, would display in full vigour all the talents of the soldier and the statesman, and would then sink back into his melancholy repose.

The disputes with America had now become so serious that an appeal to the sword seemed inevitable; and the Ministers were desirous to avail themselves of the services of Clive. Had he still been what he was when he raised the siege of Patna, and annihilated the Dutch army and navy at the mouth of the Ganges, it is not improbable that the resistance of the Colonists would have been put down, and that the inevitable separation would have been deferred for a few years. But it was too late. His strong mind was fast sinking under many kinds of suffering. On the twenty-second of November, 1774, he died by his own hand. He had just completed his forty-ninth year.

In the awful close of so much prosperity and glory, the vulgar saw only a confirmation of all their prejudices; and some men of real piety and genius so far forgot the maxims both of religion and of philosophy as confidently to ascribe the mournful event to the just vengeance of God, and to the horrors of an evil conscience. It is with very different feelings that we contémplicate the spectacle of a great mind ruined by the weariness of satiety, by the pangs of wounded honour, by fatal diseases, and more fatal remedies.

Clive committed great faults; and we have not attempted to disguise them. But his faults, when weighed against his merits, and viewed in connexion with his temptations, do not appear to us to deprive him of his right to an honourable place in the estimation of posterity.

From his first visit to India dates the renown of the English arms in the East. Till he appeared, his countrymen were despised as mere pedlars, while the French were revered as a people formed for victory and command. His courage and capacity dissolved the charm. With the defence of Arcot commences that long series of Oriental triumphs which closes with the fall of Ghizni.* Nor must we forget that he was

only twenty-five years old when he approved himself ripe for military command. This is a rare if not a singular distinction. It is true that Alexander, Condé,* and Charles the Twelfth,* won great battles at a still earlier age; but those princes were surrounded by veteran generals of distinguished skill, to whose suggestions must be attributed the victories of the Granicus,* of Rocroi,³⁷⁾ and of Narva. Clive, an inexperienced youth, had yet more experience than any of those who served under him. He had to form himself, to form his officers, and to form his army. The only man, as far as we recollect, who at an equally early age ever gave equal proof of talents for war, was Napòleon Bónaparte.

From Clive's second visit to India dates the political ascendancy of the English in that country. His dexterity and resolution realised, in the course of a few months, more than all the gorgeous visions which had floated before the imagination of Dupleix. Such an extent of cultivated territory, such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul. Nor were such wealthy spoils ever borne under arches of triumph, down the Sacred Way,* and through the crowded Forum,* to the threshold³⁸⁾ of Tarpèian Jove.* The fame of those who subdued Antiochus*³⁹⁾ and Tigrànes* grows dim when compared with the splendour of the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one half of a Roman legion. From Clive's third visit to India dates the purity of the administration of our Eastern empire. When he landed in Calcutta in 1765, Bengal was regarded as a place to which Englishmen were sent only to get rich, by any means, in the shortest possible time. He first made dauntless and unsparing war on that gigantic system of oppression, extortion, and corruption. In that war he manfully put to hazard his ease, his fame, and his splendid fortune. The same sense of justice which forbids us to conceal or extenuate the faults of his earlier days compels us to admit that those faults were nobly repaired. If the reproach of the Company and of its servants has been taken away, if in India the yoke of foreign masters, elsewhere the heaviest

³⁷⁾ Die französische Aussprache ist beizubehalten. ³⁸⁾ spr. thrèsh-òld. ³⁹⁾ spr. antiòkus.

of all yokes, has been found lighter than that of any native dynasty, if to that gang of public robbers which formerly spread terror through the whole plain of Bengal has succeeded a body of functionaries not more highly distinguished by ability and diligence than by integrity, disinterestedness, and public spirit,⁴⁰⁾ if we now see such men as Múnrō, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe, after leading victorious armies, after making and deposing kings, return, proud of their honourable poverty, from a land which once held out to every greedy factor the hope of boundless wealth, the praise is in no small measure due to Clive. His name stands high on the rōll of conquerors. But it is found in a better list, in the list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior, history will assign a place in the same rank with Lucúllus* and Trājān.* Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot,*⁴¹⁾ and with which the latest generations of Hindoos will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck.*

⁴⁰⁾ public bezieht sich in dieser Verbindung, wie in public man (vgl. VI, 11) auf das Gemeinwesen, den Staat; public spirit also „Gemeinsinn, Patriotismus“. ⁴¹⁾ Die französische Aussprache ist beizubehalten.

Warren Hastings.

I.

Jugend und Erziehung.

1732—1750.

Warren Hastings sprang from an ancient and illustrious race. It has been affirmed that his pedigree can be traced back to the great Danish sea-king,* whose sails were long the terror of both coasts of the British Channel, and who, after many fierce and doubtful struggles, yielded at last to the valour and genius of Alfred. But the undoubted splendour of the line of Hastings needs no illustration from fable. One branch of that line wore, in the fourteenth century, the coronet¹⁾ of Pembroke.* From another branch sprang the renowned Chamberlain*, the faithful adherent of the White Rose,* whose fate has furnished so striking a theme both to poets and to historians. His family received from the Tudors the earldom of Huntingdon,* which, after long dispossession²⁾, was regained in our time by a series of events scarcely paralleled³⁾ in romance.⁴⁾

¹⁾ coronet bedeutet hier „Grafenkrone“, weil sie in diesem Falle von den „Earls“ of Pembroke getragen wurde. Vgl. hinten die Bem. zu Pembroke. ²⁾ dispossession, a) Vertreibung aus dem Besitze; b) der Zustand des Nichtbesitzens. Der Ausdruck „after long dispossession“ kann nur durch einen Satz wiedergegeben werden. ³⁾ to parallel smth., „gleichlaufen mit etwas, einer Sache gleichen“; smth. is scarcely paralleled „etwas hat kaum seines Gleichen“. ⁴⁾ romance bezeichnet den in ritterlichen Abenteuern sich bewegenden Roman des Mittelalters. Sofern der Roman auf modernen Anschauungen beruht und sich auf dem Boden der thatsächlichen oder wenigstens vorstellbaren Wirklichkeit bewegt, wird er mit dem Worte „novel“ bezeichnet.

The lords of the manor⁵⁾ of Daylesford, in Worcestershire*⁶⁾, claimed to be considered as the heads of this distinguished family. The main stock,⁷⁾ indeed, prospered less than some of the younger shoots⁸⁾. But the Daylesford family, though not ennobled, was wealthy and highly considered, till, about two hundred years ago, it was overwhelmed by the great ruin of the civil war. The Hastings of that time was a zéalous cavalier⁹⁾. He raised money on his lands, sent his plate to the mint at Oxford, joined the royal army, and, after spending half his property in the cause of King Charles*, was glad to ransom himself by making over most of the remaining half to Speaker Lenthal.* The old seat at Daylesford still remained in the family; but it could no longer be kept up; and in the following generation it was sold to a merchant of London.

Before this transfer took place, the last Hastings of Daylesford had presented¹⁰⁾ his second son to the rectory¹¹⁾ of the parish in which the ancient residence of the family stood. The living¹²⁾ was of little value; and the situation of the poor clergyman, after the sale of the estate, was deplorable. He was constantly engaged in lawsuits¹³⁾ about his tithes¹⁴⁾ with the new lord of the manor, and was at length utterly ruined. His eldest son, Howard, a well-conducted young man, obtained

⁵⁾ manor, ursprünglich „Wohnsitz“ (zu lat. manere, bleiben, wohnen,) ist eigentlich der unveräusserliche herrschaftliche Grundbesitz eines „peer“ (vgl. L. Cl. VI, 1), daneben im weiteren Sinne jedes Gut, mit welchem Patrimonialrechte verbunden sind. Der „lord of the manor“ (wörtlich: Brodherr des Gutes) hat sowohl eine gewisse Jurisdiktion innerhalb des betr. Bezirkes, als ihm auch das Recht zusteht, die zu demselben gehörigen Pfründen zu vergeben. ⁶⁾ spr. wōostersher. ⁷⁾ stock, vgl. L. Cl. I, 21. ⁸⁾ the shoot (zu: to shoot, schiessen, emporschiessen) Schössling, Sprosse. ⁹⁾ cavalier, spr. cavaleër, ein Anhänger Karls I. Die Gegner hiessen „Roundheads“. ¹⁰⁾ to present to a place: „für eine Stelle bestimmen, in eine Stelle einsetzen“. Der von dem „Lord of the manor“ erwählte Kandidat für eine Pfründe musste dem Bischof als zukünftiger Inhaber derselben vorgestellt werden. ¹¹⁾ the rectory of the parish „die Pfarrstelle des Kirchspiels“. „Rector nennt“ man besonders den Pfarrer der Episkopalkirche, welcher im unbeschränkten Besitze der von Alters her mit seiner Stelle verbundenen Rechte, Pfründen und Zehnten ist. ¹²⁾ the living bezeichnet das, was jemandem zu seinem Lebensunterhalte zur Verfügung steht, daher a) Subsistenzmittel, b) Pfründe. ¹³⁾ lawsuit (= suit in law, Gesuch beim Gericht) Rechtsstreit, Prozess. ¹⁴⁾ tithes, Zehnten, ist eine Nebenform zu „tenths“.

a place in the Customs.¹⁵⁾ The second son, Pynaston, an idle worthless boy, married before he was sixteen, lost his wife in two years, and died in the West Indies, leaving to the care of his unfortunate father a little orphan, destined to strange and memorable vicissitudes of fortune.¹⁶⁾

Warren, the son of Pynaston, was born on the sixth of December, 1732. His mother died a few days later, and he was left dependent on¹⁷⁾ his distressed grandfather. The child was early sent to the village school, where he learned his letters on the same bench with the sons of the peasantry. Nor did any thing in his garb or fare¹⁸⁾ indicate that his life was to take a widely different course from that of the young rustics with whom he studied and played. But no cloud could overcast the dawn of so much genius and so much ambition. The very ploughmen observed, and long remembered, how kindly¹⁹⁾ little Warren took to²⁰⁾ his book. The daily sight of the lands which his ancestors had possessed, and which had passed into the hands of strangers, filled his young brain with wild fancies and projects. He loved to hear stories of the wealth and greatness of his prōgénitors, of their splendid house-keeping, their loyalty, and their valour. On one bright summer day, the boy, then just seven years old, lay on the bank of the rīvulet which flows through the old domain of his house to join the Īsis.* There, as three-score and ten²¹⁾ years later he told the tale, rose in his

¹⁵⁾ the Customs (zu „custom“, Steuer, Zoll): die Steuerverwaltung. ¹⁶⁾ fortune bedeutet a) das Schicksal (daher: good fortune, ill fortune), b) das Vermögen. ¹⁷⁾ dependent on, „lastend auf“. Vgl. L. Cl. V, 12. ¹⁸⁾ fare, verwandt mit dem deutschen „fahren“, zeigt auch die beiden Bedeutungen dieses Wortes: a) fortbewegt werden, reisen, b) sich befinden, ergehen; the fare, a) das Fahrgeld, b) das Ergehen, die Lebensweise, (vgl. welfare, Wohlfahrt, Wohlergehen), speciell: die Speise, die Kost. ¹⁹⁾ Das Adjektiv kind, verwandt mit „kind“, Geschlecht, Art, bedeutet a) von derselben Art, also: verwandt, ähnlich; b) gut geartet, also: artig, gebührend, passend; c) speciell: gütig, wohlwollend. ²⁰⁾ to take to „sich an etwas machen, sich mit etwas beschäftigen“. ²¹⁾ threescore and ten ist gewählt an Stelle des kürzeren und üblicheren „seventy“, um die lange Dauer der Zeit, während deren er das schon als Kind ins Auge gefasste Ziel verfolgte, anschaulicher vorzuführen. — Die Wörter „score, dozen“, sowie die verschiedenen Ausdrücke für „Paar“ werden als Sammelnamen gedacht und bekommen daher kein Pluralzeichen. — Zu beachten ist, dass auch in dem französisch. quatre-vingt die Zahl 20 als Zahleinheit auftritt.

mind²²⁾ a scheme which, through all the turns of his eventful career, was never abandoned. He would recover the estate which had belonged to his fathers. He would be Hastings of Daylesford. This purpose, formed in infancy and poverty, grew stronger as his intellect expanded and as his fortune rose. He pursued his plan with that calm but indomitable²³⁾ force of will which was the most striking peculiarity of his character. When, under a tropical sun, he ruled fifty millions of Asiatics, his hopes, amidst all the cares of war, finance, and legislation, still pointed to Daylesford. And when his long public life, so singularly chequered²⁴⁾ with good and evil, with glory and obloquy, had at length closed for ever, it was to Daylesford that he retired to die.

When he was eight years old, his uncle Howard determined to take charge²⁵⁾ of him, and to give him a liberal* education. The boy went up to London, and was sent to a school at Newington,* where he was well taught but ill fed. He always attributed the smallness of his stature to the hard and scanty fare of this seminary. At ten he was removed to Westminster school,* then flourishing²⁶⁾ under the care of Dr. Nichols.²⁷⁾ Vinny Bourne,*²⁸⁾ as his pupils affectionately called him, was one of the masters. Churchill,* Colman,* Lloyd,* Cumberland,* Cowper,* were among the students. With Cowper, Hastings formed a friendship which neither the lapse of time, nor a wide dissimilarity of opinions and pursuits, could wholly dissolve. It does not appear that they ever met after they had grown to manhood. But forty years later, when the voices of many great orators were crying for vengeance on²⁹⁾ the oppressor of India, the shy and secluded poet could image to himself Hastings the Governor-General only as the Hastings with whom he had rowed on the Thames,³⁰⁾ and played in the cloister, and refused to believe that so good-tempered³¹⁾ a fellow could have done any thing very

²²⁾ mind, siehe L. Cl. III, 14. ²³⁾ indomitable, = not to be dounted, zeigt die ursprünglichere Form des Grundwortes, auf welches „to dount“ zurückzuführen ist. (Lat. domitare zu domare, franz. dompter.) ²⁴⁾ to chequer, spr. chécker, verwandt mit dem deutschen „scheckig“. ²⁵⁾ charge, frz. charge, bedeutet das Auferladene, die Bürde, die Last, daher: Kosten, Sorge für, Anklage, Angriff. ²⁶⁾ spr. flürishing. ²⁷⁾ spr. níkkuls. ²⁸⁾ spr. burn. ²⁹⁾ vengeance on, die Rache soll herabkommen „auf“ jemanden. ³⁰⁾ spr. tems. ³¹⁾ good-tempered, gut geartet, gutherzig. Vgl. L. Cl. VIII, 1.

wrong. His own life had been spent in praying, musing, and rhyming among the water-lilies of the Ouse. He had preserved in no common measure the innocence of childhood. His spirit³²⁾ had indeed been severely tried, but not by temptations which impelled him to any gross violation of the rules of social morality. He had never been attacked by combinations of powerful and deadly enemies. He had never been compelled to make a choice between innocence and greatness, between crime and ruin. Firmly as³³⁾ he held in theory the doctrine of human depravity, his habits were such that he was unable to conceive how far from the path of right even kind and noble natures may be hurried by the rage of conflict and the lust of dominion.³⁴⁾

Hastings had another associate at Westminster* of whom we shall have occasion to make frequent mention, Ēlĭjah Īmpēy.* We know little about their school days. But, we think, we may safely venture to guess that, whenever Hastings wished to play any trick more than usually naughty, he hired Impey with a tart or a ball to act as fag in the worst part of the prank.

Warren was distinguished among his comrades as an excellent swimmer, boatman, and scholar. At fourteen he was first in the examination for the foundation.³⁵⁾ His name in gilded letters on the walls of the dormitory still attests his victory over many older competitors. He stayed two years longer³⁶⁾ at the school, and was looking forward to a studentship at Christ Church,* when an event happened which changed the whole course of his life. Howard Hastings died, bequeathing his nephew to the care of a friend and distant relation, named Chiswick. This gentleman, though he did not absolutely refuse the charge, was desirous to rid himself of it as soon as possible. Dr. Nichols made strong remonstrances against the cruelty of interrupting the studies of a youth who seemed likely to be one of the first scholars of the age. He even offered to bear the expense of sending his favourite

³²⁾ spirit, siehe L. Cl. I, 41. ³³⁾ firmly as. Die Partikel „as“ hinter einem Adjektiv oder Adverb hat eine einräumende Bedeutung. ³⁴⁾ Ueber „dominion“ und „domination“ siehe L. Cl. II, 56. ³⁵⁾ foundation, a) Gründung, Stiftung; b) das aus den Zinsen einer Stiftung jährlich zu vergebende Stipendium. ³⁶⁾ two years longer, zwei Jahre noch nach diesem Ereignisse, also „noch zwei Jahre“.

pupil to Oxford. But Mr. Chiswick was inflexible. He thought the years which had already been wasted on hexámeters and pentámeters quite sufficient. He had it in his power to obtain for the lad a writership in the service of the East India Company. Whether the young adventurer, when once shipped off,³⁷⁾ made a fortune, or died of a liver complaint,³⁸⁾ he equally ceased to be a burden to any body. Warren was accordingly removed from Westminster school, and placed for a few months at a commercial academy to study arithmētic and book-keeping. In January, 1750, a few days after he had completed his seventeenth year, he sailed for Bengal,³⁹⁾ and arrived at his destination⁴⁰⁾ in the October following.

II.

Erster Aufenthalt in Indien.

1750—1764.

He was immediately placed at a desk¹⁾ in the Secretary's office at Calcútta, and laboured there during two years. Fort William* was then a purely commercial settlement. In the south of India the encroaching policy²⁾ of Dupleix* had transformed the servants of the English Company, against their will, into diplomātists and generals. The war of the succession* was raging in the Carnátic;³⁾ and the tide had been suddenly turned against the French by the genius of young Robert Clive. But in Bengal the European settlers, at peace

³⁷⁾ to ship off „über's Wasser schicken“, also transitives Verb und daher auch im Passiv gebräuchlich; „when shipped off“ ist verkürzter Temporalsatz. ³⁸⁾ complaint, a) Klage, b) Krankheit, als Ursache der Klage. ³⁹⁾ spr. a wie den gleichen Buchstaben in „all“. ⁴⁰⁾ destination, a) Bestimmung, b) das, wofür jemand bestimmt ist: Bestimmungsort, Bestimmungsort.

¹⁾ desk, siehe L. Cl. I, 24. ²⁾ policy, siehe L. Cl. II, 7. ³⁾ Gieb den Vokalen a, e, o und u in indischen Eigennamen, wenn nicht eine besondere Aussprache angegeben ist, den deutschen Laut.

with the natives and with each other, were wholly occupied with ledgers⁴⁾ and bills of lading.

Paur After two years passed in keeping accounts at Calcutta, Hastings was sent up the country to Cossimbazár, a town which lies on the Hooglèy, about a mile from Moorshedabád, and which then bore to Moorshedabad a relation, if we may compare small things with great, such as⁵⁾ the city of London bears to Westminster. / Moorshedabad was the abode of the prince* who, by an authority ostensibly⁶⁾ derived from the Mogúl, but really independent, ruled the three great provinces of Bengal, Ōrissa, and Bahár. At Moorshedabad were the court, the hārām, and the public offices. Cossimbazar was a port and a place of trade, renowned for the quantity and excellence of the silks which were sold in its marts,⁷⁾ and constantly receiving and sending forth fleets of richly laden barges. At this important point, the Company had established a small factory subordinate to that of Fort William. Here, during several years, Hastings was employed in making bargains for stuffs with native brokers. While he was thus engaged, Surajah Dōwlah succeeded to the government, and declared war against the English. The defenceless settlement of Cossimbazar, lying close to the tyrant's capital, was instantly seized. Hastings was sent a prisoner to Moorshedabad, but, in consequence of the humane⁸⁾ intervention of the servants of the Dutch Company, was treated with indulgence. Meanwhile the Nàbob marched on Calcutta; the governor and the commandant fled; the town and citadel were taken, and most of the English prisoners perished in the Black Hole.*

Uhl In these events originated the greatness of Warren Hastings. The fugitive governor and his companions had taken refuge on the dreary⁹⁾ islet of Fúlda, near the mouth of the Hoogley. They were naturally desirous to obtain full information

⁴⁾ the ledger ist das Hauptbuch eines Kaufmanns, in welchem die Posten der Nebenbücher summarisch niedergelegt sind. Das Wort ist verwandt mit dem deutschen „legen“, engl. to lay. ⁵⁾ Der relativen Partikel „wie“ entspricht im Englischen „such as“, wenn sich dieselbe auf ein Substantiv bezieht. Das engl. Adverb „as“ kann nicht in unmittelbare Beziehung zu einem Hauptworte treten. ⁶⁾ ostensibly „dem Scheine nach, vorgeblich“; zu lat. ostendere. ⁷⁾ mart, siehe L. Cl. V, 6. ⁸⁾ humane, „human“, ist nicht zu verwecheln mit human, „menschlich“. ⁹⁾ dreary, düster, öde (verwandt mit dem deutschen „traurig“).

respecting the proceedings of the Nabob; and no person seemed so likely to furnish it as Hastings, who was a prisoner at large¹⁰⁾ in the immediate neighbourhood of the court. He thus became a diplomatic agent, and soon established¹¹⁾ a high character¹²⁾ for ability and resolution. The treason* which at a later period was fatal to Surajah Dowlah was already in progress; and Hastings was admitted to the deliberations of the conspirators. But the time for striking had not arrived. It was necessary to postpone the execution of the design; and Hastings, who was now in extreme peril, fled to Fulda.

Soon after his arrival at Fulda, the expedition from Mādrās, commanded by Clive, appeared in the Hoogley. Warren, young, intrepid, and excited probably by the example of the Commander of the Forces who, having like himself been a mercantile agent of the Company, had been turned by public calamities into¹³⁾ a soldier, determined to serve in the ranks. During the early operations of the war he carried a musket. But the quick eye of Clive soon perceived that the head of the young volunteer would be more useful than his arm. When, after the battle of Plássēy,* Meer Jaffier was proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Hastings was appointed to reside at the court of the new prince as agent for the Company.

He remained at Moorshedabad till the year 1761, when he became a member of Council, and was consequently forced to reside at Calcutta. This was during the interval between Clive's first and second administration, an interval which has left on the fame of the East India Company a stain,* not wholly effaced by many years of just and humane government. Mr. Vansittart,* the Governor, was at the head of a

Troeltsch

¹⁰⁾ at large „ohne Zwang; mit der Erlaubniss, sich frei zu bewegen“, bildet den Gegensatz zu der Einkerkierung in der engen Zelle der Gefangenen. ¹¹⁾ to establish „fest begründen“, im eigentlichen wie im bildlichen Sinne. Vgl. L. Cl. III, 57. ¹²⁾ character bezeichnet zunächst die Zusammenfassung der wesentlichen Eigenschaften des Gemüthes und des Willens einer Person, den Charakter; dann speciell die Eigenschaft, durch welche sich jemand der öffentlichen Meinung zufolge besonders hervorthut, und bedeutet demnach b) Ruf. Die betr. Eigenschaft wird dem Worte „character“ in dieser Bedeutung vermittelt der Präposition „for“ beigegeben. ¹³⁾ to turn (frz. „tourner“, umdrehen) a) to turn into, im Umdrehen verwandeln in, b) to turn smth. „sich plötzlich verwandeln in“.

new and anomalous empire. On the one side was a band of English functionaries,¹⁴⁾ daring, intelligent, eager to be rich. On the other side was a great native population, helpless, timid, accustomed to crouch¹⁵⁾ under oppression. To keep the stronger race from preying on the weaker was an undertaking which tasked¹⁶⁾ to the utmost the talents and energy of Clive. Vansittart, with fair¹⁷⁾ intentions, was a feeble and inefficient ruler. The master caste,¹⁸⁾ as was natural, broke loose from all restraint; and then was seen what we believe to be the most frightful of all spectacles, the strength of civilisation without its mercy. | To all other despotism there is a check, imperfect indeed, and liable¹⁹⁾ to gross abuse, but still sufficient to preserve society from the last extreme of misery. A time comes when the evils of submission are obviously greater than those of resistance, when fear itself begets a sort of courage, when a convulsive burst of popular rage and despair warns tyrants not to presume²⁰⁾ too far on the patience of mankind. But against misgovernment such as then afflicted Bengal it was impossible to struggle. The superior intelligence and energy of the dominant class made their power irresistible. A war of Bengalès against Englishmen was like a war of sheep against wolves, of men against dæmons. The only protection which the conquered could find was in the moderation, the clémency, the enlarged²¹⁾ policy of the conquerors. That protection, at a later period, they found. But at first English power came among them

¹⁴⁾ functionary, siehe L. Cl. I, 26. ¹⁵⁾ to crouch, „sich ducken“, ist verwandt mit dem deutschen kriechen. ¹⁶⁾ to task sbd. = to impose a task on sbd. „jemanden (mit einer Aufgabe) belasten, in Anspruch nehmen“. ¹⁷⁾ fair hat die Grundbedeutung: glänzend, klar, ohne Flecken; daher auf moralische Vorstellungen angewandt: rein, fehlerlos; auf äussere Gestalt: schön. ¹⁸⁾ the master caste „die überlegene Kaste, die gebietende Klasse“ waren die Engländer; master weist immer auf das Verhältniss des Gebietenden zum Untergebenen hin. ¹⁹⁾ liable to (verwand mit frz. lier, „verbinden“, daher) in seiner Grundbedeutung: gebunden an, verknüpft mit. Hieraus haben sich die speciellen Bedeutungen entwickelt: a) jemandem verantwortlich, b) abhängig von, c) möglicherweise verknüpft mit (einer Gefahr oder dergl.). ²⁰⁾ to presume (eigentlich: vorwegnehmen) bezeichnet das vorzeitige Nehmen, dem nicht eine genügende Prüfung vorgegangen ist, daher: to presume on, „sich (ohne Grund, irrtümlich) verlassen auf“. ²¹⁾ enlarged, zu: to enlarge, erweitern, hat hier die Bedeutung: unbefangen über die Schranken der gegenwärtigen Lage hinaus in die Zukunft blickend, also „weitausschauend“, auch „hochherzig“.

unaccompanied by English morality. (There was an interval *Lombard* between the time at which they became our subjects, and the time at which we began to reflect that we were bound to discharge towards them the duties of rulers. During that interval the business of a servant of the Company was simply to wring out of the natives a hundred or two hundred thousand pounds as speedily as possible, that he might return home before his constitution had suffered from the heat, to marry a peer's²²⁾ daughter, to buy rotten boroughs*²³⁾ in Cornwall, and to give balls in St. James's Square. Of the conduct of Hastings at this time, little is known; but the little that is known, and the circumstance that little is known, must be considered as honourable to him. He could not protect the natives: all that he could do was to abstain from plundering and oppressing them; and this he appears to have done. It is certain that at this time he continued²⁴⁾ poor; and it is equally certain, that by cruelty and dishonesty he might easily have become rich. It is certain that he was never charged with having borne²⁵⁾ a share in the worst abuses which then prevailed; and it is almost equally certain that, if he had borne a share in those abuses, the able and bitter enemies who afterwards persecuted him would not have failed to discover and to proclaim his guilt. | The keen, severe, and even *Kaiser* malévolent scrutiny to which his whole public life was subjected, a scrutiny unparalleled, as we believe, in the history of mankind, is in one respect advantageous to his reputation. It brought many lamentable blemishes to light; but it entitles him to be considered pure from every blemish which has not been brought to light.

The truth is that the temptations to which so many English functionaries yielded in the time of Mr. Vansittart were not temptations addressed to the ruling passions of Warren Hastings. He was not squeamish²⁶⁾ in pecuniary transactions; but he was neither sordid nor rapacious. He was far too enlightened a man to look on a great empire

²²⁾ peer, siehe L. Cl. VI, 1. ²³⁾ borough, spr. búrō. ²⁴⁾ to continue, als transitives Verb: „fortsetzen“; als intransitives Verb: „fortfahren“ und, auf einen Zustand bezogen (der durch ein Adjektiv oder Substantiv ausgedrückt wird), „bleiben“. ²⁵⁾ to bear a share: der Antheil an der Schuld ist als Last vorgestellt, daher „to bear“; gewöhnlich sagt man, „to have a share“. ²⁶⁾ squeamish (eigentlich: Aufstossen erregend, oder: Aufstossen habend) leicht Ekel empfindend, wählerisch.

merely as a buccanèer²⁷⁾ would look on a galleon. Had his heart been much worse than it was, his understanding would have preserved him from that extremity²⁸⁾ of baseness. He was an unscrupulous, perhaps an unprincipled statesman; but still he was a statesman, and not a frèebooter. /

III.

Warren Hastings kehrt nach vierjährigem Aufenthalte in England nach Indien zurück.

1764—1769.

Huckler In 1764 Hastings returned to England. He had realized only a very moderate fortune; and that moderate fortune was soon reduced to nothing, partly by his praiseworthy liberality, and partly by his mismanagement. Towards his relations he appears to have acted very generously. The greater part of his savings¹⁾ he left in Bengal, hoping probably to obtain the high usury of India. But high usury and bad security generally go together; and Hastings lost both interest²⁾ and principal.³⁾

He remained four years in England. Of his life at this time very little is known. But it has been asserted, and is highly probable, that liberal studies⁴⁾ and the society of men of letters occupied a great part of his time. It is to be remembered to his honour, that in days when the languages of the East were regarded by other servants of the Company merely as the means of communicating with weavers and money-changers, his enlarged⁵⁾ and accomplished mind sought in

²⁷⁾ buccaneer, zurückzuführen auf das frz. Verb boucaner, „Büffel jagen“, also wörtlich „Büffeljäger“, bezeichnet die Seeräuber in den indischen Gewässern, frz. boucanier. ²⁸⁾ extremity, wörtlich „das äusserste Ende“, figürlich gebraucht: „der äusserste, höchste Grad“.

¹⁾ savings, zu „to save“, retten und sparen: Ersparnisse; daher savings-bank, „Sparkasse“. ²⁾ interest, a) Interesse, b) Zinsen. ³⁾ principal („für principal sum“), Kapital. ⁴⁾ liberal studies, „freie Studien“, im Gegensatze zu Brodstudien. Vgl. auch L. Cl. III, 31. ⁵⁾ enlarged mind, siehe II, 21. — Ueber mind siehe L. Cl. III, 14.

Asiatic learning for new forms of intellectual enjoyment, and for new views of government and society. Perhaps, like most persons who have paid much attention to departments of knowledge which lie out of the common track,⁶⁾ he was inclined to overrate the value of his favourite studies. / He conceived that the cultivation of Persian literature might with advantage be made a part of the liberal education⁷⁾ of an English gentleman; and he drew up a plan with that view. It is said that the University of Oxford, in which Oriental learning had never, since the revival of letters, been wholly neglected, was to be the seat of the institution which he contemplated. An endowment⁸⁾ was expected from the munificence of the Company; and professors thoroughly competent to interpret Hafiz* and Ferdusi* were to be engaged in the East. Hastings called on⁹⁾ Johnson,* with the hope, as it should seem, of interesting in this project a man who enjoyed the highest literary reputation, and who was particularly connected with Oxford. The interview appears to have left on Johnson's mind a most favourable impression of the talents and attainments¹⁰⁾ of his visitor. Long after, when Hastings was ruling the immense population of British India, the old philosopher wrote to him, and referred in the most courtly terms, though with great dignity, to their short but agreeable intercourse. /

Hastings soon began to look again towards India. He had little to attach¹¹⁾ him to England; and his pecuniary embarrassments were great. He solicited his old masters the Directors for employment. They acceded to his request, with high compliments both to his abilities and to his integrity, and appointed him a Member of Council at Madrás. It would be unjust not to mention that, though forced to borrow money for his outfit, he did not withdraw any portion of the sum which he had appropriated¹²⁾ to the relief of his distressed

⁶⁾ the track, zu „trace“, bedeutet die Strecke, auf welcher die Fusstapfen zu finden sind, die also jemand durchwandert, daher „Weg, Bahn“. ⁷⁾ liberal education, freie allseitige Erziehung. Vgl. auch L. Cl. III, 31. ⁸⁾ endowment, verwandt mit dem frz. douer, die Ausstattung, die Unterhaltungskosten. ⁹⁾ to call on sbd., bei jemandem vorsprechen, jemanden besuchen. ¹⁰⁾ attainments (zu „to attain“, erreichen): Vorzüge, Vollkommenheiten, Talente. ¹¹⁾ little to attach; über den attributiven Infinitiv siehe L. Cl. II, 47. ¹²⁾ to appropriate, verwandt mit property, „als Eigenthum anweisen, übermachen“.

relations. In the spring of 1769 he embarked on board of the Duke of Grafton, and commenced a voyage distinguished by incidents which might furnish matter for a novel.¹³⁾ /

Paar.

Among the passengers in the Duke of Grafton was a German of the name of Imhoff. He called himself a baron; but he was in distressed circumstances, and was going out to Madras as a portrait-painter, in the hope of picking up¹⁴⁾ some of the pagòdas which were then lightly¹⁵⁾ got and as lightly spent by the English in India. The baron was accompanied by his wife, a [native, we have somewhere read, of Archangel.*¹⁶⁾ This young woman who, born under the Arctic circle,¹⁷⁾ was destined to play the part of a Queen under the tropic of Cancer,¹⁸⁾ had an agreeable person,¹⁹⁾ a cultivated mind, and manners²⁰⁾ in the highest degree engaging.²¹⁾ She despised her husband heartily, and, as the story which we have to tell sufficiently proves, not without reason. She was interested by the conversation and flattered by the attentions of Hastings. The situation was indeed perilous. No place is so propitious to the formation either of close friendships or of deadly enmities as an Indiaman.²²⁾ There are very few

¹³⁾ Ueber „novel“ siehe I, 4. ¹⁴⁾ to pick up, mit „to peck“ und „picken“ verwandt: einzeln auflesen, sammeln. ¹⁵⁾ light, „leicht“, ist alles das, was nicht als Last oder Bürde anzusehen ist, daher a) das Nichtschwere (dem Gewicht nach), b) das, was keine Anstrengung verursacht; — als „easy“ (zurückzuführen auf das frz. aisé, vgl. auch „être à l'aise“) bezeichnet man das, was die Ruhe und Bequemlichkeit nicht stört. — Mit light, „leicht“, darf nicht verwechselt werden light, „licht, leuchtend, hell“. ¹⁶⁾ spr. árkanjel. ¹⁷⁾ Arctic, „zum Sternbilde des grossen Bären gehörig“, the Arctic circle daher „der nördliche Polarkreis“. ¹⁸⁾ Tropic, von dem griechischem Verb „trepein“ wenden, abgeleitet, bedeutet Wendekreis. Die beiden Wendekreise heissen „the tropic of Cancer“ und „the tropic of Capricorn“. Mit dem Plural „tropics“ bezeichnet man das Gebiet zwischen den beiden Wendekreisen, also die heisse Zone. Das zu „tropics“ gehörige Adjektiv ist tropical. ¹⁹⁾ person (eigentlich „Maske“, lat. persona) bezeichnet zunächst die äussere Erscheinung eines Menschen, seine Körpergestalt; dann den Menschen selbst als lebendes, bewusstes Einzelwesen. ²⁰⁾ Unter „manners“ (frz. la manière, die Art und Weise) versteht man die äusseren Manieren, die Art des Auftretens und der Bewegung in der Gesellschaft. ²¹⁾ to engage (frz. engager) zeigt in allen seinen Verwendungen den Grundbegriff: fesseln, verbinden; „engaging manners“ ist ein Benehmen, welches das Interesse und die Aufmerksamkeit fesselt, also einnehmende Manieren. ²²⁾ India-man, Indien-

people who do not find a voyage ²³⁾ which lasts several months insupportably dull. / Any thing is welcome which may break *Fikent* that long monótony, a sail, a shark, an albatross, a man overboard. Most passengers find some resource in eating twice as many meals as on land. But the great devices for killing the time are quarrelling and flirting. The facilities for both these exciting pursuits are great. The inmates of the ship are thrown together far more than in any country-seat or boarding-house. None can escape from the rest except by imprisoning himself in a cell in which he can hardly turn. All food, all exercise, is taken in company. Ceremony is to a great extent banished. It is every day in the power of a mischievous person to inflict ²⁴⁾ innumerable annoyances; it is every day in the power of an amiable person to confer ²⁵⁾ little services. It not seldom happens that serious distress and danger call forth in genuine ²⁶⁾ beauty and deformity heroic virtues and abject vices which in the ordinary intercourse of good society, might remain during many years unknown even to intimate associates. Under such circumstances met Warren Hastings and the Baroness Imhoff, two persons whose accomplishments would have attracted notice in any court of Europe. | The gentleman had no domestic ties. ²⁷⁾ The *Alascon* lady was tied to a husband for whom she had no regard, ²⁸⁾ and who had no regard for his own honour. An attachment sprang up, which was soon strengthened by events such as could hardly have occurred on land. Hastings fell ill. ²⁹⁾ The baroness nursed him with womanly tenderness, gave him his

fahrer. Der Gebrauch von „man“ zur Bezeichnung eines Schiffes ist mit dem Verbum „to man“, bemannen, mit einer Mannschaft versehen, in Verbindung zu bringen. An India-man ist gleichbedeutend mit „a ship manned for India“. Ohne Ergänzung kommt „man“ als Bezeichnung eines Schiffes nicht vor. ²³⁾ voyage, siehe L. Cl. I, 35. ²⁴⁾ to inflict (lat. inflingere, schleudern), auferlegen, wenn es sich um eine Strafe oder irgend eine andere Unannehmlichkeit handelt. ²⁵⁾ to confer (lat. conferre, zusammentragen, hinbringen): geben, gewähren (ein Geschenk oder etwas dem Verwandten). ²⁶⁾ genuine (verwandt mit „genus“, Art) besagt „der Art oder Natur eines Begriffes entsprechend“, und ist daher zu übersetzen durch: natürlich, wahr oder unverfälscht. ²⁷⁾ domestic bezieht sich entweder auf den häuslichen Herd oder auf die Heimath im weiteren Sinne, das Vaterland; „domestic ties“ sind Familienbände. ²⁸⁾ regard (frz regard), a) Hinblick, Rücksicht, b) speciell die Rücksicht, in welcher sich die Anerkennung jemandes ausspricht, die Achtung. ²⁹⁾ to fall ill, frz. tomber malade.

medicines with her own hand, and even sat up in his cabin while he slept. Long before the Duke of Grafton reached Madras, Hastings was in love. But his love was of a most characteristic description.³⁰⁾ Like his hatred, like his ambition, like all his passions, it was strong, but not impetuous. It was calm, deep, earnest, patient of delay, unconquerable by time. Imhoff was called into council by his wife and his wife's lover. It was arranged that the baroness should institute a suit for a divorce in the courts of Franconia, that the baron should afford every facility to the proceeding, and that, during the years which might elapse before the sentence should ³¹⁾ be pronounced, they should continue to live together. It was also agreed that Hastings should bestow some very substantial marks of gratitude on the complaisant³²⁾ husband, and should, when the marriage was dissolved, make the lady his wife, and adopt the children whom she had already borne³³⁾ to Imhoff.

We are not inclined to judge either Hastings or the baroness severely. There was undoubtedly much to extenuate their fault. But we can by no means concur with the Reverend Mr. Gleig,* who carries his partiality to so injudicious an extreme as to describe the conduct of Imhoff, conduct the baseness of which is the best excuse for the lovers, as "wise and judicious."³⁴⁾

³⁰⁾ description, a) „Beschreibung, Erklärung, „Definition“, b) das, was unter eine Definition gehört, „Gattung, Art“. ³¹⁾ „before the sentence should be pronounced“, siehe L. Cl. I, 52. Dieser Satz involvirt eine Bedingung. ³²⁾ spr. compläzant, das letzte a mit deutschem a-Laute. ³³⁾ borne: die Participialform born, „geboren“, ist nur im Passiv zu gebrauchen. ³⁴⁾ judicious ist die Handlung, welcher Ueberlegung und richtiges Urtheil vorangeht, also die „besonnene, verständige“.

IV.

**Warren Hastings Mitglied des Rathes der
Präsidentschaft Madras (1769—72) und Gouver-
neur von Bengalen (1772—73). Vernichtung der
Rohillas.**

At Madras, Hastings found the trade of the Company in a very disorganised¹⁾ state. His own tastes would have led him rather to political than to commercial pursuits; but he knew that the favour of his employers depended chiefly on their dividends, and that their dividends depended chiefly on the investment.²⁾ He therefore, with great judgment, determined to apply his vigorous mind for a time to this department of business, which had been much neglected, since the servants of the Company had ceased to be clerks,³⁾ and had become warriors and négociators. *Doesime
other*

In a very few months he effected an important reform. The Directors notified to him their high approbation, and were so much pleased with his conduct that they determined to place him at the head of the government of Bengal. Early in 1772 he quitted Fort St. George* for his new post. The Imhoffs, who were still man and wife, accompanied him, and lived at Calcutta "on the same wise and judicious plan," — we quote the words of Mr. Gleig, — which they had already followed during more than two years. *Kosp*

When Hastings took his seat at the head of the council-board, Bengal was still governed according to the system which Clive had devised, a system which was, perhaps, skilfully contrived for the purpose of facilitating and concealing a great revolution, but which, when that revolution was complete and irrévocable, could produce nothing but inconvenience. There were two governments, the real and the ostensible. The

¹⁾ disorganised, „unordentlich“, bezeichnet etwas Zuständliches und ist deshalb als Adjektiv behandelt. Das Particip disorganised, in „Unordnung gebracht“, würde „much“ als verstärkendes Adverb verlangt haben. ²⁾ to invest, „bekleiden, umkleiden“, daher „to invest a town“, eine Stadt einschliessen. To invest money in smth., wörtlich „Geld in etwas einkleiden“, Geld anlegen in. ³⁾ Ueber „clerk“ siehe L. Cl. I, 22.

supreme power belonged to the Company, and was in truth the most despotic power that can be conceived. The only restraint on the English masters of the country was that which their own justice and humanity imposed on them. There was no constitutional check on their will, and resistance to them was utterly hopeless.

But, though thus absolute in reality, the English had not yet assumed the style⁴⁾ of sovereignty. They held their territory as vassals of the throne of Délhī; they raised their revenues as collectors appointed by the imperial commission; their public seal was inscribed with the imperial titles; and their mint struck only the imperial coin.

Voelk There was still a nàbob of Bengal, who stood to the English rulers of his country in the same relation in which Augústulus* stood to Odoacer,⁵⁾ or the last Merovingians to Charles Martél and Pepin. He lived at Moorshedabád, surrounded by princely magnificence. He was approached with outward marks of reverence, and his name was used in public instruments.⁶⁾ But in the government of the country he had less real share than the youngest writer or cādet⁷⁾ in the Company's service.

The English council which represented the Company at Calcutta was cónstituted on a very different plan from that which has since been adopted. At present the Governor is, as to all executive measures, absolute. He can declare war, conclude peace, appoint public functionaries or remove them, in opposition to the unanimous sense⁸⁾ of those who sit with him in council. They are, indeed, entitled to know all that is done, to discuss all that is done, to advise, to rēmónstrate, to send protests to England. But it is with the Governor that the supreme power resides, and on him that the whole respon-

⁴⁾ Mit style bezeichnet man sowohl die besondere Art des Ausdrucks eines Gedankens oder der Darstellung einer künstlerischen Idee (Stil), als auch die besondere Art des Verfahrens (Praxis). ⁵⁾ spr. ödōaser. ⁶⁾ instruments, a) Werkzeuge, b) Urkunden. ⁷⁾ cadet, frz. cadet, a) der jüngere Bruder, b) der Zögling der Militärschule, c) ein Freiwilliger in der Armee, welcher eingetreten ist in der Erwartung, dass ihm späterhin ein höherer militärischer Posten anvertraut wird. Der „cadet“ empfängt Sold, und unterscheidet sich dadurch von „volunteer“, der gelegentlich eintritt und nicht dauernd dem Heere angehören will. ⁸⁾ sense, a) Sinn überhaupt, b) speciell: Gefühlsinn, Empfinden, c) übertragen auf das Denken: Urtheil, Meinung, auch „Bedeutung“.

sibility rests. This system, which was introduced by Mr. Pitt* and Mr. Dúndas in spite of the strenuous opposition of Mr. Burke, we conceive to be on the whole the best that was ever devised for the government of a country where no materials can be found for a representative constitution.⁹⁾ In the time of Hastings the Governor had only one vote in council, and, in case of an equal division, a casting vote.¹⁰⁾ It therefore happened not unfrequently that he was overruled on the gravest questions;¹¹⁾ and it was possible that he might be wholly excluded, for years together,¹²⁾ from the real direction of public affairs.

The English functionaries at Fort William had as yet *Lember* paid little or no attention to the internal government of Bengal. The only branch of politics about which they much busied themselves was negotiation with the native princes. The police,¹³⁾ the administration of justice, the details of the collection of revenue, they almost entirely neglected. We may remark that the phrāsēology of the Company's servants still bears the traces of this state of things. To this day they always use the word "political" as synonymous with „diplomatic.“ We could name a gentleman still living who was described by the highest authority¹⁴⁾ as an invaluable public servant, eminently fit to be at the head of the internal administration of a whole presidency, but unfortunately quite ignorant of all political business.

The internal government of Bengal the English rulers *Schlesing* délégated to a great native minister, who was stationed at Moorshedabad. All military affairs, and, with the exception of what pertains to mere cērēmòniāl, all foreign affairs, were withdrawn from his contròl; but the other departments of the administration were entirely confided to him. His own stipend¹⁵⁾ amounted to near a hundred thousand pounds sterling¹⁶⁾ a

⁹⁾ representative constitution, eine Verfassung auf Grundlage der Volksvertretung. ¹⁰⁾ casting vote, „ausschlaggebende Stimme“. ¹¹⁾ „on the gravest questions“: die Fragen werden angesehen als der Boden, auf dem sich die Berathung und Abstimmung bewegt. ¹²⁾ for years together, „lange Jahre hindurch“. Das Adverb „together“ führt eine bereits angegebene Menge noch einmal zusammenfassend vor und wirkt dadurch verstärkend. ¹³⁾ spr. polèce. ¹⁴⁾ authority, a) das Ansehen, b) die mit Ansehen verbundene Machtvollkommenheit, c) authorities, pl., Personen, denen solches Ansehen beiwohnt, Autoritäten, oder eine solche Machtvollkommenheit, Behörden. ¹⁵⁾ stipend, Sold, Gehalt; vgl. I, 35. ¹⁶⁾ sterling, siehe L. Cl. II, 55.

year. The personal allowance¹⁷⁾ of the nabobs, amounting to more than three hundred thousand pounds a year, passed through the minister's hands, and was, to a great extent, at his disposal. The collection of the revenue, the administration of justice, the maintenance of order, were left to this high functionary; and for the exercise of his immense power he was responsible to none but the British masters of the country.

Meier A situation so important, lucrative, and splendid, was naturally an object of ambition to the ablest and most powerful natives. Clive had found it¹⁸⁾ difficult to decide between conflicting pretensions. Two candidates stood out prominently from¹⁹⁾ the crowd, each of them the representative of a race and of a religion.

The one was Mahommed²⁰⁾ Reza Khan, a Mussulman of Persian extraction, able, active, religious after the fashion of his people, and highly esteemed by them. In England he might perhaps have been regarded as a corrupt and greedy politician. But, tried²¹⁾ by the lower standard²²⁾ of Indian morality, he might be considered as a man of integrity and honour.

Gumbert His competitor was a Hindōo Brahmin whose name has, by a terrible and melancholy event, been inseparably associated with that of Warren Hastings, the Maharajah* Nuncomár. This man had played an important part in all the revolutions which, since the time of Surajah Dōwlah, had taken place in Bengal.* To the consideration²³⁾ which in that country belongs to high and pure caste,²⁴⁾ he added the

¹⁷⁾ allowance, a) Erlaubniss, Einräumung, b) die eingeräumte jährliche Bezahlung, das zugestandene Jahresgehalt. ¹⁸⁾ had found it difficult to . . . , vgl. L. Cl. I, 50. ¹⁹⁾ to stand out prominently from „weit hervorragen aus“; die Präposition „from“ ist gewählt anstatt des gewöhnlicheren of, um der Grösse des Abstandes kräftigeren Ausdruck zu geben. ²⁰⁾ spr. mähomed, mit deutschem a-Laute. ²¹⁾ to try, a) versuchen, b) untersuchen, c) beurtheilen. ²²⁾ standard, Maasstab; siehe L. Cl. V, 28. ²³⁾ consideration, a) Beachtung, Berücksichtigung, b) speciell: hervorragende Berücksichtigung, also „Ansehen, Achtung“. ²⁴⁾ caste bedeutet die Kaste, der jemand durch seine Geburt angehört. Die vornehmsten Kasten der Inder waren die der Brahminen oder Priester und die der Krieger, der auch die Herrscher angehörten. Neben diesen gab es noch zwei andere Kasten, die der Kaufleute und die der Handwerker und Arbeiter; high and pure caste ist demnach „das unvermischte Blut einer vornehmen Kaste“.

weight which is derived from wealth, talents, and experience. Of his moral character it is difficult to give a notion to those who are acquainted with human nature only as it appears in our island. What the Italian is to the Englishman, what the Hindoo is to the Italian, what the Bengalee is to other Hindoos, that was Nuncomar to other Bengalees. The physical organization of the Bengalee is feeble even to effeminacy. He lives in a constant vapour bath. His pursuits are sédentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. During many ages he has been trampled upon by men of bolder and more hardy²⁵⁾ breeds.²⁶⁾ Courage, independence, veracity, are qualities to which his constitution²⁷⁾ and his situation²⁸⁾ are equally unfavourable. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak even to helplessness, for purposes of manly resistance; but its suppleness and its²⁹⁾ tact move the children of sterner climates to admiration not unmingled with contempt. All those arts which are the natural defence of the weak are more familiar to this subtle³⁰⁾ race than to the Jonian of the time of Jūvenāl,* or to the Jew of the dark ages.* What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty, according to the old Greek song, is to woman, deceit is to the Bengalee. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery,³¹⁾ perjury, forgery, are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges.³²⁾ All those millions do not furnish one sèpoy* to the armies of the Company. But as usurers, as money-changers, as sharp legal practitioners, no class of human beings can bear a comparison with them. With all his softness, the Bengalee is by no means placable in his enmities or prone to pity. The pertinacity with which he adheres to his purposes yields only to the immediate pressure of fear. Nor does he lack a certain kind of courage which is often wanting in his masters. To inevitable evils he is sometimes

²⁵⁾ hardy, frz. „hardi“, kühn, thatkräftig; daneben hard, dsch. „hart“, hart und mühsam. ²⁶⁾ the breed, zu „to breed“, „hervorbringen“ und „erziehen“, bezeichnet hier die seiner Herkunft zuzuschreibende Art jemandes, daher Race, Schlag, Art. ²⁷⁾ Ueber constitution siehe L. Cl. I, 8. ²⁸⁾ situation bezieht sich hier auf die klimatischen Verhältnisse. ²⁹⁾ its suppleness and its tact: Die Wiederholung des Possessivpronomens hat hier die Wirkung, dass sie auf jede der beiden Eigenschaften individueller hinweist. ³⁰⁾ spr. süttl. ³¹⁾ spr. shikānery. ³²⁾ spr. gánjēz.

found to oppose a passive fortitude, such as the Stoics* attributed to their idéal sage. An³³⁾ European warrior who rushes on a battery of cannon with a loud hurrah³⁴⁾ will sometimes shriek under the surgeon's knife, and fall into an agony of despair at the sentence of death. But the Bengalee who would see his country overrun, his house laid in ashes, his children murdered or dishonoured, without having the spirit³⁵⁾ to strike one blow, has yet been known to endure torture with the firmness of Mucius,* and to mount the scaffold with the steady step and even pulse³⁶⁾ of Algernon Sydney.*

In Nuncomar, the national character was strongly and with exaggeration personified. The Company's servants had repeatedly detected him in the most criminal intrigues.³⁷⁾ On one occasion he brought a false charge against another Hindoo, and tried to substantiate³⁸⁾ it by producing forged documents. On another occasion it was discovered that while professing the strongest attachment to the English, he was engaged in several conspiracies against them, and in particular that he was the medium³⁹⁾ of a correspondence between the court of Delhi and the French authorities in the Carnatic. For these and similar practices he had been long detained in confinement. But his talents and influence had not only procured his liberation, but had obtained for him a certain degree of consideration even among the British rulers of his country.

Clive was extremely unwilling to place a Mussulman at the head of the administration of Bengal. On the other hand, he could not bring himself to⁴⁰⁾ confer immense power on a man to whom every sort of villany had repeatedly been brought home.⁴¹⁾ Therefore, though the nabob, over whom

³³⁾ an European warrior, siehe L. Cl. I, 37. ³⁴⁾ hurrah, spr. u wie kurzes deutsches u, a wie langes deutsches a. ³⁵⁾ spirit, hier „Muth“; vgl. L. Cl. I, 41. ³⁶⁾ pulse, hier prägnant für „der ruhige Pulsschlag“. ³⁷⁾ spr. intrèeg. ³⁸⁾ the substance, die wesentlichen Bestandtheile, das Wesen; to substantiate smth., „einer Sache wesentliche Grundlage geben, etwas durch Thatsachen bekräftigen“. ³⁹⁾ medium, wörtlich „das Mittlere“, ist das, was zwischen Extremen vermittelt, der Vermittler. ⁴⁰⁾ to bring one's self to, „sich entschliessen zu“. ⁴¹⁾ to bring home a crime to sbd. „jemanden eines Verbrechens überführen und ihn dafür bestrafen“; vgl. deutsch „heimzahlen“.

Nuncomar had by intrigue acquired great influence, begged that the artful⁴²⁾ Hindoo might be intrusted with the government, Clive, after some hesitation, decided honestly and wisely in favour of Mahommed Reza Khan, who had held his high office seven years when Hastings became Governor. An infant⁴³⁾ son of Meer Jaffier was now nabob;* and the guardianship of the young prince's person had been confided to the minister.

Nuncomar, stimulated at once by cupidity and malice, had been constantly attempting to undermine his successful rival. This was not difficult. The revenues of Bengal, under the administration established by Clive, did not yield such a surplus as had been anticipated by the Company; for, at that time, the most absurd notions were entertained in England respecting the wealth of India. Palaces of porphyry, hung with the richest brōcade, heaps of pearls and diamonds, vaults from which pagodas* and gold mōhurs⁴⁴⁾ were measured out by⁴⁵⁾ the bushel, filled the imagination even of men of business. Nobody seemed to be aware of what nevertheless was most undoubtedly the truth, that India was a poorer country than countries which in Europe are reckoned poor, than Ireland, for example, or than Portugal. It was confidently believed by lords of the treasury⁴⁶⁾ and members⁴⁷⁾ for the city that Bengal would not only defray its own charges, but would afford an increased dividend to the proprietors of India stock,⁴⁸⁾ and large relief to the English finances.⁴⁹⁾ These absurd expectations were disappointed; and the directors,⁵⁰⁾ naturally enough, chose to attribute the disappointment rather

⁴²⁾ art, „Kunst“ und „Verschlagenheit“; artful, ränkevoll, verschlagen. ⁴³⁾ infant, siehe L. Cl. VII, 4. ⁴⁴⁾ mohur, eine indische Münze im Werthe von 30 Rm., 15 Rupien. ⁴⁵⁾ „by the bushel“, scheffelweise. Die Präpos. „by“ hat hier distributive Bedeutung. ⁴⁶⁾ Das Schatzamt, „Treasury“, d. h. die Behörde, welche mit der Verwaltung der Staatsfinanzen betraut ist, besteht aus a) dem „First Lord of the Treasury“, dem Premierminister, b) dem „Chancellor of the Exchequer“, dem eigentlichen Finanzminister, und c) drei „Junior Lords“. Alle diese können durch die Bezeichnung „lords of the treasury“ zusammengefasst werden. ⁴⁷⁾ members for the city, nämlich Parlamentsmitglieder, also Männer, welche die „city of London“, und damit die reichste und intelligenteste Kaufmannschaft Englands im Parlamente vertraten. ⁴⁸⁾ stock, siehe L. Cl. I, 21. ⁴⁹⁾ spr. fēnāncez, mit deutschem a-Laute. ⁵⁰⁾ Court of Directors, siehe L. Cl. VI, 7.

to the mismanagement of Mahommed Reza Khan than to their own ignorance of the country intrusted to their care. They were confirmed in their error by the agents of Nuncomar; for Nuncomar had agents even in Léadenhall Street.* Soon after Hastings reached Calcutta, he received a letter addressed by the Court of Directors,* not to the council generally, but to himself in particular. He was directed to remove Mahommed Reza Khan, to ^{arrest} him, together with all his family and all his partisans, and to institute a strict inquiry into the whole administration of the province. It was added that the Governor would do well to avail himself of the assistance of Nuncomar in the investigation. The vices of Nuncomar were acknowledged. But even from his vices, it was said, much advantage might at such a conjuncture⁵¹⁾ be derived; and, though he could not safely be trusted, it might still be proper to encourage him by hopes of reward.

7. The Governor bore no good will to Nuncomar. Many years before, they had known each other at Moorshedabad; and then a quarrel had risen between them which all the authority of their superiors could hardly compose. Widely as they differed in most points, they resembled each other in this, that both were men of unforgiving natures. To Mahommed Reza Khan, on the other hand, Hastings had no feelings of hostility. Nevertheless he proceeded to execute the instructions of the Company with an alacrity which he never showed, except when instructions were in perfect conformity with his own views. He had, wisely as we think, determined to get rid of the system of double government in Bengal. The orders of the directors furnished him with the means of effecting his purpose, and dispensed him from the necessity of discussing the matter with his council. He took his measures with his usual vigour and dexterity. At midnight, the ²place of Mahommed Reza Khan at Moorshedabad was surrounded by a battalion of sepoys. The minister was roused from his slumbers, and informed that he was a prisoner. With the Mussulman gravity, he bent his head and submitted himself to the will of God. He fell not alone. A chief named Schitab Roy had been intrusted with the government of Bahàr. His valour and his attachment to the English had more than once been signally proved. / On that

⁵¹⁾ conjuncture, siehe L. Cl. III, 28.

memorable day on which the people of Patna* saw from their walls the whole army of the Mogúl* scattered by the little band of Captain Knox, the voice of the British conquerors assigned the palm of gallantry to the brave Asiatic. "I never," said Knox, when he introduced Schitab Roy, covered with blood and dust, to the English functionaries assembled in the factory, "I never saw a native fight so before." Schitab Roy was involved in the ruin of Mahommed Reza Khan, was removed from office, and was placed under arrest. The members of the council received no intimation⁵²⁾ of these measures till the prisoners were on their road to Calcutta.

The inquiry into the conduct of the minister was postponed on different pretences. He was detained in an easy confinement during many months. In the mean time, the great revolution which Hastings had planned was carried into effect. The office of minister was abolished. The internal administration was transferred to the servants of the Company. A system, a very imperfect system, it is true, of civil and criminal justice, under English superintendence, was established. The nabob was no longer to have even an ostensible share in the government; but he was still to receive a considerable annual allowance, and to be surrounded with the state of sovereignty. As he was an infant, it was necessary to provide guardians for his person and property. His person was intrusted to a lady of his father's haram, known by the name of the Munny Begum.* The office of treasurer of the household was bestowed on a son of Nuncomar, named Goordas. Nuncomar's services were wanted, yet he could not safely be trusted with power; and Hastings thought it a masterstroke of policy to reward the able and unprincipled parent by promoting the inoffensive child.

The revolution completed,⁵³⁾ the double government dissolved, the Company installed in the full sovereignty of Bengal, Hastings had no motive to treat the late⁵⁴⁾ ministers with rigour. Their trial had been put off on various pleas till the new organization was complete. They were then brought be-

⁵²⁾ to intimate, „genau bekannt machen mit“; the intimation, „die genaue Kenntniss“, die Mittheilung. ⁵³⁾ The revolution completed: absolute Participialkonstruktion mit temporaler Bedeutung, entsprechend dem lat. abl. abs. ⁵⁴⁾ late ist alles das, was bis vor kurzem bestanden hat.

fore a committee, over which the Governor presided. Schitab Roy was speedily acquitted with honour. A formal apology⁵⁵⁾ was made to him for the restraint to which he had been subjected. All the Eastern marks of respect were bestowed on him. He was clothed in a robe of state,⁵⁶⁾ presented with jewels and with a richly harnessed⁵⁷⁾ elephant, and sent back to his government at Patna. But his health had suffered from confinement; his high spirit had been cruelly wounded; and soon after his liberation he died of a broken heart.

The innocence of Mahommed Reza Khan was not so clearly established. But the Governor was not disposed to deal harshly. After a long hearing, in which Nuncomar appeared as the accuser, and displayed both the art and the inveterate rancour which distinguished him, Hastings pronounced that the charges had not been made out, and ordered the fallen minister to be set at liberty.

4 Nuncomar had purposed⁵⁸⁾ to destroy the Mussulman administration, and to rise on its ruin. Both his mälévolence and his cupidity had been disappointed. Hastings had made him a tool, had used him for the purpose of accomplishing the transfer of the government from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, from native to European hands. The rival, the enemy, so long envied, so implacably persecuted, had been dismissed unhurt. The situation so long and ardently desired had been abolished. It was natural that the Governor should⁵⁹⁾ be from that time an object of the most intense hatred to the vindictive Brähmin. As yet, however, it was necessary to suppress such feelings. The time was coming when that long animosity was to end in a desperate and deadly struggle.

⁵⁵⁾ apology, a) Vertheidigung, b) Entschuldigung; a formal apology: eine Entschuldigung in aller Form. ⁵⁶⁾ robe, jedes weite Gewand, das über der gewöhnlichen Kleidung getragen wird; robe of state, „Staatskleid, Amtskleid“. — Das Wort „state“ entspricht den beiden Begriffen unseres Wortes „Staat“, a) Staat als politische Einheit, b) Staat als Pracht, Pomp. ⁵⁷⁾ the harness, a) der Harnisch, b) (bei Thieren) das Geschirr; to harness daher: a) mit dem Harnisch bekleiden, b) mit dem Geschirr bekleiden, anschirren. ⁵⁸⁾ to purpose, beabsichtigen; to propòse: a) beabsichtigen, b) vorschlagen. In ersterer Bedeutung sind demnach beide Verben, die demselben Stamme angehören (lat. proponere) synonym. ⁵⁹⁾ Ueber „should“ vgl. L. Cl. V, 44.

In the mean time, Hastings was compelled to turn his attention to foreign⁶⁰⁾ affairs. The object of his diplomacy was at this time simply to get money. The finances of his government were in an embarrassed⁶¹⁾ state; and this embarrassment he was determined to relieve by some means,⁶²⁾ fair or foul.⁶³⁾ The principle which directed all his dealings with his neighbours is fully expressed by the old motto of one of the great predatory families of Teviotdale,* "Thou shalt want ere I want." He seems to have laid it down, as a fundamental proposition⁶⁴⁾ which could not be disputed, that, when he had not as many lacs of rupèes⁶⁵⁾ as the public service required, he was to take them from any body who had. One thing,⁶⁶⁾ indeed, is to be said in excuse for him. The pressure applied to him by his employers at home, was such as only the highest virtue could have withstood, such as left him no choice except to commit great wrongs, or to resign his high post, and with that post all his hopes of fortune and distinction. The directors, it is true, never enjoined or applauded any crime. Far from it. Whoever examines their letters written at that time will find there many just and humane sentiments, many excellent précepts, in short, an admirable code of political ethics. But every exhortation is modified or nullified by a demand for money. "Govern leniently, and send more money; practise strict justice and moderation towards neighbouring powers, and send more money;" this is in truth the sum of almost all the instructions, that Hastings ever received from home. (Now these instructions, being intérprèted, mean

⁶⁰⁾ foreign, auswärtig, dem Auslande angehörig; strange, fremd, d. h. einem anderen Orte angehörig; daneben „seltsam“.
⁶¹⁾ to embarrass (zu „bar“, Schranke, also wörtlich: eine Schranke oder Schwierigkeit in den Weg legen), a) in Verwirrung bringen, b) in eine schwierige (gewöhnlich pekuniäre) Lage bringen.
⁶²⁾ by some means: „some“ bekräftigt hier das Positive des Entschlusses: Mittel sollten und mussten angewandt werden; by any means würde heissen: durch Mittel irgend welcher Art, wofern nur solche Mittel vorhanden (möglich) wären. Dass wirklich Mittel angewandt werden könnten, würde in letzterem Falle zweifelhaft bleiben. ⁶³⁾ foul (deutsch: „faul“) moralisch schlecht, schmutzig; über „fair“ siehe H, 17. ⁶⁴⁾ proposition, a) Vorschlag, b) Satz, und zwar sowohl im grammatischen Sinne, also in Beziehung auf die Form, als auch im rhetorischen Sinne, in Rücksicht auf den Gedanken, den Inhalt; — fundamental proposition, „Grundsatz“. ⁶⁵⁾ lacs of rupees, siehe L. Cl. V, 67. ⁶⁶⁾ Das alleinstehende „one“ ist immer persönlich aufzufassen; das sächliche „Eines“ ist daher durch „one thing“ auszudrücken.

simply, "Be the father and the oppressor of the people; be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious." The directors dealt with India, as the church, in the good old times, dealt with a héretic. They delivered the victim over to the executioners, with an earnest request that all possible tenderness might be shown. We by no means accuse or suspect those who framed these dēspatches of hypocrisy. It is probable that, writing fifteen thousand miles from the place where their orders were to be carried into effect, they never perceived the gross inconsistency of which they were guilty. But the inconsistency was at once manifest to their lieutenant⁶⁷⁾ at Calcutta, who, with an empty treasury, with an unpaid army, with his own salary often in arrear,⁶⁸⁾ with deficient crops,⁶⁹⁾ with government tenants⁷⁰⁾ daily running away, was called upon to remit home another⁷¹⁾ half million without fail. Hastings saw that it was absolutely necessary for him to disregard either the moral discourses⁷²⁾ or the pecuniary requisitions of his employers. Being forced to disobey them in something, he had to consider what kind of disobedience they would most readily pardon; and he correctly judged that the safest course would be to neglect the sermons and to find the rupees.

7 A mind so fertile as his, and so little restrained by conscientious⁷³⁾ scruples, speedily discovered several modes of relieving the financial embarrassments of the government. The allowance of the Nabob of Bengal was reduced at a stroke from three hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year to half that sum. The Company had bound itself to pay near three hundred thousand pounds a year to the great Mogul, as a mark of homage for the provinces which he had intrusted to their care; and they had ceded to him the districts of Coráh and Allahabád. On the plea that the Mogul was not really independent, but merely a tool in the hands of others, Hastings determined to retract these concessions. He accordingly declared that the English would pay no more tribute, and sent troops to occupy Allahabad* and Corah*. The situation

⁶⁷⁾ spr. levténant. ⁶⁸⁾ arrear, frz. arrière, Rückstand. Daneben von demselben Stamme „the rear“, der Nachtrab (des Heeres). ⁶⁹⁾ crop (deutsch: Kropf), a) der Kropf, b) die Ernte (eigentlich: das aufgehäufte Getreide). ⁷⁰⁾ tenant (zu dem frz. „tenir“, halten, innehaben), der Pächter. ⁷¹⁾ another wieder einmal eine ... ⁷²⁾ discourse (zu dem frz. „discourir“, sich mit Worten verbreiten über) Auseinandersetzung, Abhandlung. ⁷³⁾ conscientious, „auf das Gewissen bezüglich.“

of these places was such, that there would be little advantage and great expense in retaining them. Hastings, who wanted money and not territory, determined to sell them. A purchaser was not wanting. The rich province of Oude* had, in the general dissolution of the Mogul Empire, fallen to the share of the great Mussulman house by which it is still governed. About twenty years ago, this house, by the permission of the British government, assumed the royal title; but, in the time of Warren Hastings, such an assumption would have been considered by the Mahommedans of India as a monstrous impiety. The Prince of Oude, though he held the power, did not venture to use the style of sovereignty. To the appellation of Nabob or Viceroy, he added that of Vizier⁷⁴⁾ of the monarchy of Hindostán, just as in the last century the Éléctors of Saxony and Brandenburg, though independent of the Emperor, and often in arms against him, were proud to style themselves his Grand Chamberlain and Grand Marshal. Sujah Dowlah, then Nabob Vizier, was on excellent terms⁷⁵⁾ with the English. He had a large treasure. Allahabad and Corah were so situated that they might be of use to him and could be of none to the Company. The buyer and seller soon came to an understanding; and the provinces which had been torn from the Mogul were made over to the government of Oude for about half a million sterling.

But there was another matter still more important to be settled by the Vizier and the Governor. The fate of a brave people was to be decided. It was decided in a manner which has left a lasting stain on the fame of Hastings and of England.

The people of Central Asia had always been to the inhabitants of India what the warriors of the German forests were to the subjects of the decaying monarchy of Rome. The dark, slender, and timid Hindoo shrank from a conflict with the strong muscle and resolute spirit of the fair race, which dwelt beyond the passes. There is reason to believe that, at a period anterior to the dawn of regular history, the people who spoke the rich and flexible Sanscrit came from regions lying far beyond the Hÿphàsis* and the Hÿdàspēs,* and im-

⁷⁴⁾ spr. vís-yěr. ⁷⁵⁾ to be on excellent terms with, „auf sehr gutem Fusse stehen mit“; die Bedeutung von „terms“ in dieser Wendung schliesst sich an den Begriff „Vertrag, Einverständniss“ an; siehe L. Cl. V, 73.

posed their yoke on the children of the soil.* / It is certain that, during the last ten centuries, a succession of invaders descended from the west on Hindostan; nor was the course of conquest ever turned back towards the setting sun, till that memorable cāmpāign in which the cross of Saint George* was planted on the walls of Ghizni.*

The Emperors of Hindostan themselves came from the other side of the great mountain ridge; and it had always been their practice to recruit their army from the hardy and valiant race from which their own illustrious house sprang. Among the military adventurers who were allured to the Mogul standards from the neighbourhood of Cabūl⁷⁶⁾ and Candahār,* were conspicuous several gallant bands, known by the name of the Rohillas.* Their services had been rewarded with large tracts of land, fiefs of the spear,* if we may use an expression drawn from an analogous state of things, in that fertile plain through which the Ramgunga flows from the snowy heights of Kūmāñ* to join the Ganges. In the general confusion which followed the death of Aurungzèbe,*⁷⁷⁾ the warlike colony became virtually⁷⁸⁾ independent. The Rohillas were distinguished from the other inhabitants of India by a peculiarly fair complexion. They were more honourably distinguished by courage in war, and by skill in the arts of peace. While anarchy raged from Lahòre* to Cape Cómorin, their little territory enjoyed the blessings of repose under the guardianship of valour. Agriculture and commerce flourished among them; nor were they negligent of rhetoric and poetry. Many persons now living have heard aged men talk with regret of the golden days when the Àfghán princes ruled in the vale of Rohilcúnd.

Sujah Dowlah had set his heart on adding this rich district to his own principality. Right, or show of right, he had absolutely none. His claim was in no respect better founded than that of Catherine* to Pòland, or that of the Bónoparte family to Spain. The Rohillas held their country by exactly the same title by which he held his, and had governed their country far better than his had ever been governed. Nor were they a people whom it was perfectly safe to attack. Their land was indeed an open plain, destitute of natural defences; but their veins were full of the high blood of Afghanistan. As soldiers, they had not the steadiness which is seldom found

⁷⁶⁾ spr. Cabool. ⁷⁷⁾ spr. ōrungzèeb. ⁷⁸⁾ virtually, that-sächlich, bildet den Gegensatz zu nominally.

except in company with strict discipline; but their impetuous valour had been proved on many fields of battle. It was said that their chiefs, when united by common peril, could bring eighty thousand men into the field. Sujah Dowlah had himself seen them fight, and wisely shrank from a conflict with them. There was in India one army, and only one, against which even those proud Caucasian tribes could not stand. It had been abundantly proved that neither tenfold odds,⁷⁹⁾ nor the martial ardour of the boldest Asiatic nations, could avail aught against English science and resolution. Was it possible to induce the Governor of Bengal to let out to hire the irresistible energies of the imperial people, the skill against which the ablest chiefs of Hindostan were helpless as infants, the discipline which had so often triumphed over the frantic struggles of fanaticism and despair, the unconquerable British courage which is never so sedate and stubborn as towards the close of a doubtful and murderous day?

This was what the Nabob Vizier asked, and what Hastings granted. A bargain was soon struck.⁸⁰⁾ Each of the negotiators had what the other wanted. Hastings was in need of funds to carry on the government of Bengal, and to send remittances to London; and Sujah Dowlah had an ample revenue. Sujah Dowlah was bent⁸¹⁾ on subjugating the Rohillas; and Hastings had at his disposal the only force by which the Rohillas could be subjugated. It was agreed that an English army should be lent to the Nabob Vizier, and that, for the loan, he should pay four hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides defraying all the charge of the troops while employed in his service.

"I really cannot see," says the Reverend Mr.⁸²⁾ Gleig, "upon what grounds, either of political or moral justice, this proposition deserves to be stigmatized⁸³⁾ as infamous."⁸⁴⁾ If we understand the meaning of words, it is infamous to commit a wicked action for hire, and it is wicked to engage

⁷⁹⁾ odd, Adjektiv: „ungrade“ und „seltsam“; odds, Subst. Singular und Plural: „das Ungleiche“ und „die Uebermacht“.
⁸⁰⁾ to strike a bargain, „einen Handel oder Vortrag abschliessen“. ⁸¹⁾ to bend „beugen“ und „sich neigen“, to be bent on, „geneigt sein zu“. ⁸²⁾ the Reverend Mr.... ist der Titel eines Geistlichen, also „der Herr Pastor...“ — ⁸³⁾ stigma ist das mit einem scharfen Instrumente beigebrachte Mal, bildlich: das Brandmal, der Schandfleck; to stigmatize, „brandmarken“. ⁸⁴⁾ spr. infamous, mit kurzem deutschen a-Laute.

in war without provocation. In this particular war, scarcely one aggravating circumstance was wanting. The object of the Rohilla war was this, to deprive a large population, who had never done us the least harm, of a good government, and to place them, against their will, under an execrably bad one. Nay, even this is not all. England now descended far below the level even of those petty German princes who, about the same time, sold us troops to fight the Americans. The hussar-mongers⁸⁵⁾ of Hesse and Anspach had at least the assurance that the expeditions on which their soldiers were to be employed would be conducted in conformity with the humane rules of civilised warfare. Was the Rohilla war likely to be so conducted? Did the Governor stipulate that it should be so conducted? He well knew what Indian warfare was. He well knew that the power which he covenanted to put into Sujah Dowlah's hands would, in all probability, be atrociously abused; and he required no guarantee, no promise that it should not be so abused. He did not even reserve to himself the right of withdrawing his aid in case of abuse, however gross. Mr. Gleig repeats Major Scott's* absurd plea, that Hastings was justified in letting out⁸⁶⁾ English troops to slaughter the Rohillas, because the Rohillas were not of Indian race, but a colony from a distant country. What were the English themselves? Was it for them to⁸⁷⁾ proclaim a crusade for the expulsion of all intruders from the countries watered by the Ganges? Did it lie in their mouths to contend that a foreign settler who established an empire in India is a *caput lupinum*?* What would they have said if any other power had, on such a ground, attacked Madras or Calcutta, without the slightest provocation? Such a defence was wanting to make the infamy of the transaction complete. The atrocity of the crime, and the hypocrisy of the apology, are worthy of each other.

One of the three brigades of which the Bengal army consisted was sent under Colonel⁸⁸⁾ Chámption to join Sujah Dowlah's forces. The Rohillas expostulated, entreated, offered a large ransom, but in vain. They then resolved to defend themselves to the last. A bloody battle was fought. "The

⁸⁵⁾ spr. huz zár, mit kurzem deutschen u-Laute. ⁸⁶⁾ to let, zulassen, ablassen und vermiethen; to let out, „nach auswärts vermiethen, ausleihen“. ⁸⁷⁾ Was it for them to, „stand es ihnen zu, war es ihre Sache.“ ⁸⁸⁾ spr. cúrnel.

enemy," says Colonel Champion, "gave proof of a good share of military knowledge; and it is impossible to describe a more obstinate firmness of resolution than they displayed." The dastardly sovereign of Oude fled from the field. The English were left unsupported; but their fire and their charge were irresistible. It was not, however, till the most distinguished chiefs had fallen, fighting bravely at the head of their troops, that the Rohilla ranks gave way. Then the Nabob Vizier and his rabble⁸⁹) made their appearance, and hastened to plunder the camp of the valiant enemies, whom they had never dared to look in the face. The soldiers of the Company, trained in an exact discipline, kept unbroken order, while the tents were pillaged by these worthless allies. But many voices were heard to exclaim, "We have had all the fighting, and those rogues are to have all the profit."

14. Then the horrors of Indian war were let loose on the fair valleys and cities of Rohilcúnd. The whole country was in a blaze. More than a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, preferring fámine, and fever, and the haunts of tigers, to the tyranny of him, to whom an English and a Christian government had, for shameful lucre, sold their substance,⁹⁰) and their blood, and the honour of their wives and daughters. Colonel Champion remonstrated with the Nabob Vizier, and sent strong representations to Fort William; but the Governor had made no conditions as to the mode in which the war was to be carried on. He had troubled himself about nothing but his forty lacs; and, though he might disapprove of Sujah Dowlah's wanton barbarity, he did not think himself entitled to interfere, except by offering advice. This delicacy excites the admiration of the reverend biographer. "Mr. Hastings," he says, "could not himself dictate to the Nabob, nor permit the commander of the Company's troops to dictate how the war was to be carried on." No, to be sure. Mr. Hastings had only to put down by main force the brave struggles of innocent men fighting for their liberty. Their military resistance crushed, his duties ended; and he had then only to fold his arms and look on, while

⁸⁹) the rabble (zu „to rave“, wüthend, toll sein; lat. rabies), die wüthende Masse, der Pöbel. ⁹⁰) the substance: der Stoff, woraus etwas besteht, der wesentliche Inhalt, ohne den die Sache selbst zerfällt; one's substance: das Wesentlichste, Nothwendigste, was jemand besitzt, Hab und Gut.

their villages were burned, their children butchered, and their women violated. Will Mr. Gleig seriously maintain this opinion? Is any rule more plain than this, that whoever voluntarily gives to another irresistible power over human beings, is bound to take order⁹¹⁾ that such power shall not be barbarously abused? But we beg pardon of our readers for arguing a point so clear.

We hasten to the end of this sad and disgraceful story. The war ceased. The finest population in India was subjected to a greedy, cowardly, cruel tyrant. Commerce and agriculture languished. The rich province which had tempted the cupidity of Sujah Dowlah became the most miserable part even of his miserable dominions. Yet is the injured nation not extinct. At long intervals gleams of its ancient spirit have flashed forth; and even at this day, valour, and self-respect, and a chivalrous⁹²⁾ feeling rare among Asiatics, and a bitter remembrance of the great crime of England, distinguish that noble Afghan race. To this day they are regarded as the best of all sepoys at the cold steel;⁹³⁾ and it was very recently remarked, by one who had enjoyed great opportunities of observation, that the only natives of India to whom the word "gentleman" can with perfect propriety⁹⁴⁾ be applied are to be found among the Rohillas.

Whatever we may think of the morality of Hastings, it cannot be denied that the financial results of his policy did honour to his talents. In less than two years after he assumed the government, he had, without imposing any additional burdens on the people subject to his authority, added about four hundred and fifty thousand pounds to the annual income of the Company, besides procuring about a million in ready money.⁹⁵⁾ He had also relieved the finances of Bengal from military expenditure, amounting to near a quarter of a million a year, and had thrown that charge on the Nabob of Oude. There can be no doubt that this was a result which, if it had been obtained by honest means, would have

⁹¹⁾ order hier nicht „Befehl“, sondern „Ordnung“; to take order that, not: „Ordnung halten, damit nicht, dafür sorgen, dass nicht“. ⁹²⁾ spr. shivalrous. ⁹³⁾ at the cold steel, vgl. a man at arms. ⁹⁴⁾ propriety, „Angemessenheit, Richtigkeit“; property, „Besitz“. Beide Substantive haben ein und dasselbe Adjektiv, proper, neben sich. ⁹⁵⁾ ready money „bereit liegendes, angesammeltes Geld“.

entitled him to the warmest gratitude of his country, and which, by whatever means obtained, proved that he possessed great talents for administration.

V.

Warren Hastings als General-Gouverneur.

Erste Periode.

1773—1778.

3 In the mean time, Parliament had been engaged in long and grave discussions on Asiatic affairs. The ministry of Lord North, in the session of 1773, introduced a measure which made a considerable change in the constitution of the Indian government. This law, known by the name of the Regulating Act, provided¹⁾ that the presidency of Bengal should exercise a contròl over the other possessions of the Company; that the chief of that presidency should be styled Governor-General; that he should be assisted by four Councillors; and that a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice and three inferior judges, should be established at Calcutta. This court was made independent of the Governor-General and Council,²⁾ and was intrusted with a civil and criminal jurisdiction of immense, and, at the same time, of undefined extent.

4 The Governor-General and Councillors were named in the act, and were to hold their situations for five years. Hastings was to be the first Governor-General. One of the four new Councillors, Mr. Barwell, an experienced servant of the Company, was then in India. The other three, General Clàvering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Francis, were sent out from England.

¹⁾ to provide that, (lat. providere, „vorhersehen, vorsehen“,) „Vorkehrungen treffen, dass . . . , dafür sorgen, dass . . . , verordnen, dass . . . “ ²⁾ council „die berathende Versammlung“, counsel „der Rathschlag“; councillor „das Mitglied eines council“, counsellor „derjenige, welcher einen Rath ertheilt“.

5 The ablest of the new Councillors was, beyond all doubt, Philip Francis. His acknowledged compositions³⁾ prove that he possessed considerable eloquence and information.⁴⁾ Several years passed in the public offices had formed him to habits of business. His enemies have never denied that he had a fearless and manly spirit; and his friends, we are afraid, must acknowledge that his estimate of himself was extravagantly high, that his temper was irritable, that his deportment⁵⁾ was often rude and and petulant, and that his hatred was of intense bitterness and of long duration.*

With the three new Councillors came out the judges of the Supreme Court.* The chief justice was Sir Elijah Impey. He was an old acquaintance of Hastings*; and it is probable that the Governor-General, if he had searched through all the inns of court,* could not have found an equally serviceable tool. But the members of Council were by no means in an obsequious mood. Hastings greatly disliked the new form of government, and had no very high opinion of his coadjutors. They had heard of this, and were disposed to be suspicious and punctilious. When men are in such a frame of mind, any trifle is sufficient to give occasion for dispute. The members of Council expected a salute⁶⁾ of twenty-one guns from the batteries of Fort William. Hastings allowed them only seventeen. They landed in ill-humour. The first civilities were exchanged with cold reserve. On the morrow commenced that long quarrel which, after distracting British India, was renewed in England, and in which all the most eminent statesmen and orators of the age took active part on once or the other side.

6 Hastings was supported by Barwell. They had not always been friends. But the arrival of the new members of Council from England naturally had the effect of uniting the old servants of the Company. Clavering, Monson, and Francis formed the majority. They instantly wrested the government out of the hands of Hastings; condemned, certainly not without justice, his late dealings with the Nabob Vizier; recalled

³⁾ a composition (wörtlich: Zusammensetzung) ist jede literarische Arbeit; wir beziehen des Wort Komposition speciell auf die Musik. ⁴⁾ information, zu „to inform, in Kenntniss setzen“, a) die Unterweisung, b) die durch Unterweisung erlangten Kenntnisse. ⁵⁾ to deport, a) deportiren, b) sich benehmen; deportment daher „Benehmen“. ⁶⁾ to salute (lat. salutare) „begrüssen, bewillkommen“; the salute, „Begrüssung, Willkommen“.

the English agent from Oude, and sent thither a creature of their own;⁷⁾ ordered the brîgade which had conquered the unhappy Rohillas to return to the Company's territories; and instituted a severe inquiry into the conduct of the war. Next, in spite of the Governor-General's remonstrances, they proceeded to exercise, in the most indiscreet manner, their new authority over the subordinate presidencies; threw all the affairs of Bombay into confusion; and interfered, with an incredible union of rashness⁸⁾ and feebleness, in the intestine disputes of the Mahratta government. At the same time, they fell on the internal administration of Bengal, and attacked the whole fiscal and judicial system, a system which was undoubtedly defective, but which it was very improbable⁹⁾ that gentlemen fresh from England would be competent to amend. The effect of their reforms was that all protection to life and property was withdrawn, and that gangs of robbers plundered and slaughtered with impunity in the very suburbs of Calcutta. Hastings continued to live in the Government-house, and to draw the salary of Governor-General. He continued even to take the lead at the council-board¹⁰⁾ in the transaction of ordinary business; for his opponents could not but feel that he knew much of which they were ignorant, and that he decided, both surely and speedily, many questions which to them would have been hopelessly puzzling. But the higher powers of government and the most valuable patronage had been taken from him.

The natives soon found this out. They considered him as a fallen man; and they acted after their kind. Some of our readers may have seen, in India, a cloud of crows pecking a sick vulture to death, no bad type of what happens in that country, as often as fortune deserts one who has been great and dreaded. In an instant, all the sycophants¹¹⁾ who

⁷⁾ of their own, partitiver Genitiv des Plural; „their own“ ist eine andere Form für das absolute Possessivpronomen (hier: theirs). ⁸⁾ rashness, zu dem deutschen „rasch“, unbesonnene Eile, daher: Uebereilung, Unbesonnenheit. ⁹⁾ but which it was very improbable...; das Objekt des Nebensatzes ist in den Hauptsatz attrahirt, um den relativen Anschluss an das Vorangehende zu ermöglichen. ¹⁰⁾ board, siehe L. Cl. VI, 6. ¹¹⁾ sycophant bezeichnet eigentlich (im Griechischen) den Verläumder, den Angeber, hat aber im Engl. gewöhnlich die Bedeutung: der gemeine Schmeichler, der Parasit.

had lately been ready to lie for him, to forge for him, to pandar¹²⁾ for him, to poison for him, hasten to purchase the favour of his victorious enemies by accusing him. An Indian government has only to let it be understood that it wishes a particular man to be ruined; and, in twenty-four hours, it will be furnished with grave charges, supported by depositions¹³⁾ so full and circumstantial that any person unaccustomed to Asiatic mendacity would regard them as decisive. It is well if the signature of the destined victim is not counterfeited¹⁴⁾ at the foot of some illegal compact, and if some treasonable paper is not slipped into a hiding-place in his house. Hastings was now regarded as helpless. The power to make or mar the fortune of every man in Bengal had passed, as it seemed, into the hands of the new Councillors. Immediately charges against the Governor-General began to pour in. They were eagerly welcomed by the majority, who, to do them justice, were men of too much honour knowingly to countenance¹⁵⁾ false accusations, but who were not sufficiently acquainted with the East to be aware that, in that part of the world, a very little encouragement from power will call forth, in a week, more Oateses,* and Bedloes,* and Dangerfields,* than Westminster Hall sees in a century.

§ It would have been strange indeed if, at such a juncture,¹⁶⁾ Nuncomar had remained quiet. That bad man was stimulated at once by malignity, by avarice, and by ambition. Now was the time to be avenged on his old enemy, to wreak¹⁷⁾ a grudge of seventeen years, to establish himself in the favour of the majority of the Council, to become the greatest native in Bengal. From the time of the arrival of the new Councillors, he had paid the most marked court to them, and had in consequence been excluded, with all indignity, from the Government-house. He now put into the hands of Francis, with great ceremony, a paper containing several charges of the most serious description. By this document

¹²⁾ to pandar „den Kuppler spielen“, führt seinen Ursprung zurück auf „Pandarus“, den Kuppler in der Erzählung von Troilus und Cressida. ¹³⁾ deposition, a) Niederlegung, b) speciell das, was im Protokolle niedergelegt wird, also „die Angabe, Zeugenaussage“. ¹⁴⁾ spr. cōunterfit, mit dem Tone auf der ersten Silbe. ¹⁵⁾ Zu „to countenance“ siehe L. Cl. III, 34. ¹⁶⁾ juncture, vgl. L. Cl. III, 28. ¹⁷⁾ to wreak, verwandt dem deutschen „rächen“: ausüben (etwas Böses, was zum Schaden eines anderen gereicht).

Hastings was accused of putting offices up to sale, and of receiving bribes for suffering offenders to escape. In particular, it was alleged that Mahommed Reza Khan had been dismissed with impunity, in consideration of a great sum paid to the Governor-General.

Francis read the paper in Council. A violent altercation followed. Hastings complained in bitter terms of the way in which he was treated, spoke with contempt of Nuncomar and of Nuncomar's accusation, and denied the right of the Council to sit in judgment on the Governor. At the next meeting of the Board, another communication from Nuncomar was produced. He requested that he might be permitted to attend the Council, and that he might be heard in support of his assertions. | Another tempestuous debate took place. The Governor-General maintained that the council-room was not a proper place for such an investigation;¹⁸⁾ that from persons who were heated by daily conflict with him he could not expect the fairness¹⁹⁾ of judges; and that he could not, without betraying the dignity of his post, submit to be confronted with such a man as Nuncomar. The majority, however, resolved to go into the charges. Hastings rose, declared the sitting at an end, and left the room followed by Barwell. The other members kept their seats, voted themselves a council, put Clavering in the chair,²⁰⁾ and ordered Nuncomar to be called in. Nuncomar not only adhered to the original charges, but, after the fashion of the East, produced a large supplement. He stated that Hastings had received a great sum for appointing Rajah Goordas* treasurer of the Nabob's household, and for committing the care of his Highness's person to the Munny Begum. He put in a letter purporting²¹⁾ to bear the seal of the Munny Begum, for the purpose of establishing the truth of his story. The seal, whether forged, as Hastings affirmed, or genuine, as we are rather inclined to believe, proved nothing. Nuncomar, as every body

¹⁸⁾ to investigate (zu „the vestige“, lat. „vestigium“, die Spur) die Spur verfolgen, nachspüren, untersuchen; the investigation daher: die Untersuchung. ¹⁹⁾ fairness, siehe die Bemerkung zu fair, II, 17. ²⁰⁾ the chair „der Sitz des Präsidenten“; they put him in the chair, „sie machten ihn zum Präsidenten“. ²¹⁾ to purport, aus „pour“ für lat. „pro“ und „port“, frz. „porter“, also wörtlich: vorwärts tragen, weiter tragen) weist auf die Tragweite, die wesentliche Bedeutung einer Sache hin; purporting würde zu übersetzen sein: dessen Bedeutung darin bestand.

knows who knows India, had only to tell the Munny Begum that such a letter would give pleasure to the majority of the Council, in order to procure her attestation. The majority, however, voted that the charge was made out; that Hastings had corruptly received between thirty and forty thousand pounds; and that he ought to be compelled to refund.²²⁾ /

10 The general feeling among the English in Bengal was strongly in favour of the Governor-General. In talents for business, in knowledge of the country, in general courtesy²³⁾ of demeanour, he was decidedly superior to his persecutors. The servants of the Company were naturally disposed to side with the most distinguished member of their own body against a clerk from the war-office, who, profoundly ignorant of the native languages and the native character, took on himself to regulate every department of the administration. Hastings, however, in spite of the general sympathy of his countrymen, was in a most painful situation. There was still an appeal to higher authority in England. If that authority took part with his enemies, nothing was left to him but to throw up his office. He accordingly placed his resignation in the hands of his agent in London, Colonel Macleane. But Macleane was instructed not to produce the resignation, unless it should be fully ascertained that the feeling at the India House was adverse to the Governor-General. |

The triumph of Nuncomar seemed to be complete. He held a daily *levée*,²⁴⁾ to which his countrymen resorted in crowds, and to which, on one occasion, the majority of the Council condescended to repair. His house was an office for the purpose of receiving charges against the Governor-General. It was said that, partly by threats, and partly by wheedling,²⁵⁾ the villanous Brahmin had induced many of the wealthiest men of the province to send in complaints. But he was playing a perilous game. It was not safe to drive to despair a man of such resources and of such determination as

²²⁾ to refund (wörtlich: zurückgiessen) zurückzahlen, ersetzen. ²³⁾ spr. *cúrtisý*; dasselbe Wort lautet *cúrtsý* in der Bedeutung „Knix“. ²⁴⁾ *levée* (frz. lever) die Morgenaufwartung, offenes Haus für Morgenempfang. Der Unterschied zwischen *levee* und *drawing-room* besteht darin, dass zu ersterem nur Herren, zu letzterem Herren und Damen zugelassen werden. ²⁵⁾ to wheedle, verwandt dem deutschen „wedeln“, freundlichst bitten, schmeicheln.

²⁶ Hastings. | Nuncomar, with all his acuteness, did not understand the nature of the institutions under which he lived. He saw that he had with him the majority of the body which made treaties, gave places, raised taxes. The separation between political and judicial functions was a thing of which he had no conception. It had probably never occurred to him that there was in Bengal an authority perfectly independent of the Council, an authority which could protect one whom the Council wished to destroy, and send to the gibbet one whom the Council wished to protect. Yet such was the fact. The Supreme Court was, within the sphere of its own duties, altogether independent of the Government. Hastings, with his usual sagacity, had seen how much advantage he might derive from possessing himself of this stronghold; and he had acted accordingly. The Judges, especially the Chief Justice, were hostile to the majority of the Council. The time had now come for putting this formidable machinery²⁶⁾ into action.

²⁷ On a sudden, Calcutta was astounded²⁷⁾ by the news that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony,* committed,²⁸⁾ and thrown into the common gaol.²⁹⁾ The crime imputed to him was that six years before he had forged a bond.³⁰⁾ The ostensible prosecutor was a native. But it was then, and still is, the opinion of every body, that Hastings was the real mover in the business.

The rage of the majority rose to the highest point. They protested against the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and sent several urgent messages to the Judges, demanding that Nuncomar should be admitted to bail.³¹⁾ The Judges returned haughty and resolute answers. All that the Council could do was to heap honours and emoluments on the family of Nuncomar; and this they did. In the mean time the assizes com-

²⁶⁾ spr. mashènerie. ²⁷⁾ to astound „in Erstaunen setzen“; to astonish „erstaunen“. ²⁸⁾ to commit, wörtlich „hinschicken“, zu dem lat. mittere, heisst neben „begehen“ auch „senden zu“, so z. B. „to commit to the tower“; ohne Ortsergänzung bedeutet es verhaften. ²⁹⁾ spr. jale. ³⁰⁾ bond, zu „to bind“, ist das, was bindet, daher a) Band, Strick, Fessel, b) schriftliche Verbindlichkeit, eine Verschreibung und c) als wesentlicher Theil der letzteren, die Unterschrift. ³¹⁾ the bail „die Bürgschaft“; to admit to bail, „gestatten, Bürgschaft zu leisten; auf Bürgschaft freilassen“.

menced; a true bill ³²⁾ was found; and Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey and a jury composed of Englishmen. A great quantity of contradictory swearing, and the necessity of having every word of the evidence interpreted, protracted the trial to a most unusual length. At last a verdict of guilty was returned, ³³⁾ and the Chief Justice pronounced sentence of death on the prisoner.

13 Mr. Gleig is so strangely ignorant as to imagine that the judges had no further discretion ³⁴⁾ in the case, and that the power of extending mercy to Nuncomar resided with the Council. He therefore throws on Francis and Francis's party the whole blame of what followed. The Supreme Court had, under the Regulating Act, the power to respite ³⁵⁾ criminals till the pleasure of the Crown should be known. The Council had, at that time, no power to interfere.

That Impey ought to have respited Nuncomar we hold ³⁶⁾ to be perfectly clear. Whether the whole proceeding was not illegal, is a question. But it is certain that, whatever may have been, according to technical rules of construction, the effect of the statute under which the trial took place, it was most unjust to hang a Hindōo for forgery. The law which made forgery capital ³⁷⁾ in England was passed without the smallest reference to the state of society in India. It was unknown to the natives of India. It had never been put in execution among them, certainly not for want of delinquents. It was in the highest degree shocking to all their notions. They were not accustomed to the distinction which many circumstances, peculiar to our own state of society, have led us to make between forgery and other kinds of cheating. The

³²⁾ a true bill „ein echter Schein, eine echte Verschreibung“, bildet hier den Gegensatz zu: a forged bond. ³³⁾ to return a verdict, weil das Verdikt eine Erwidernng ist auf die den Geschworenen vom Richterkollegium vorgelegten Fragen. ³⁴⁾ discretion bezeichnet die Eigenschaft dessen, der sich von seinem eigenen Urtheile (lat. discernere) leiten lässt, daher a) Klugheit, Vorsicht, b) die (von besonnenem Urtheile diktirte) Verschwiegenheit, c) die (allein vom eigenen Urtheile abhängige) freie Bestimmung, das Belieben. ³⁵⁾ the respite ist der Aufschub einer Strafvollstreckung; to respite daher: jemandem einen solchen Aufschub gewähren. ³⁶⁾ to hold, festhalten, im Besitze haben; speciell: als Meinung festhalten, der Ansicht sein. ³⁷⁾ capital, abgeleitet vom lat. caput, „den Kopf angehend“; auf Strafen angewandt daher: den Kopf verwirkend, den Tod nach sich ziehend; daneben figürlich: hauptsächlich, wesentlich.

counterfeiting of a seal was, in their estimation, a common act of swindling; nor had it ever crossed their minds that it was to be punished as severely as gang-robbery or assassination. A just judge would, beyond all doubt, have reserved the case for the consideration of the sovereign. But Impey would not hear of mercy or delay. | -

14 The excitement among all classes was great. Francis and Francis's few English adherents described the Governor-General and the Chief Justice as the worst of murderers. Clavering, it was said, swore that, even at the foot of the gallows, Nuncomar should be rescued. The bulk of the European society, though strongly attached to the Governor-General, could not but feel compassion for a man who, with all his crimes, had so long filled so large a space in their sight, who had been great and powerful before the British empire in India began to exist, and to whom, in the old times, governors and members of council, then mere commercial factors, had paid court for protection. The feeling of the Hindoos was infinitely stronger. They were, indeed, not a people to strike one blow for their countryman. But his sentence filled them with sorrow and dismay. Tried even by their low standard of morality, he was a bad man. But, bad as he was, he was the head of their race and religion, a
15 Brahmin of the Brahmins.³⁸⁾ | He had inherited the purest and highest caste.³⁹⁾ He had practised with the greatest punctuality all those ceremonies to which the superstitious Bengalees ascribe far more importance than to the correct discharge of the social duties. They felt, therefore, as a devout Catholic in the dark ages would have felt, at seeing a prelate of the highest dignity sent to the gallows by a secular⁴⁰⁾ tribunal. According to their old national laws, a Brahmin could not be put to death for any crime whatever. And the crime for which Nuncomar was about to die was regarded by them in much the same light in which the selling of an unsound horse, for a sound price, is regarded by a Yorkshire jockey.⁴¹⁾

³⁸⁾ Brahmin of the Brahmins: Priester für die Priester, Oberbrahmene. ³⁹⁾ the purest and highest caste „unvermishtes Brahminenblut“ vgl. IV, 24. ⁴⁰⁾ secular und spiritual, temporal und ecclesiastical sind Gegensätze. ⁴¹⁾ jockey, ursprünglich Deminutivform zu „John“, bezeichnet, a) einen Mann, welcher bei einem Wettrennen ein Pferd reitet, b) einen Pferdehändler.

The Mussulmans alone appear to have seen with exultation the fate of the powerful Hindoo, who had attempted to rise by means of the ruin of Mahommed Reza Khan. The Mahomedan historian of those times takes delight in aggravating the charge. He assures us that in Nuncomar's house a casket was found containing counterfeits of the seals of all the richest men of the province. We have never fallen in with any other authority for this story, which in itself is by no means improbable.

16 The day drew near; and Nuncomar prepared himself to die with that quiet fortitude with which the Bengalee, so effeminately timid in personal conflict, often encounters calamities for which there is no remedy. The sheriff,⁴²⁾ with the humanity which is seldom wanting in an English gentleman, visited the prisoner on the eve⁴³⁾ of the execution, and assured him that no indulgence, consistent with⁴⁴⁾ the law, should be refused to him. Nuncomar expressed his gratitude with great politeness and unaltered composure. Not a muscle of his face moved. Not a sigh broke from him. He put his finger to his forehead, and calmly said that fate would have its way, and that there was no resisting the pleasure of God. He sent his compliments to Francis, Clavering, and Monson, and charged them to protect Rajah Goordas, who was about to become the head of the Brahmins of Bengal. The sheriff withdrew, greatly agitated by what had passed, and Nuncomar sat composedly down to write notes and examine accounts.

The next morning, before the sun was in his power, an immense concourse assembled round the place where the gallows had been set up. Grief and horror were on every face; yet to the last the multitude could hardly believe that the English really purposed to take the life of the great Brahmin. At length the mournful procession came through the crowd. Nuncomar sat up in his palanquin⁴⁵⁾, and looked round him with unaltered serenity. He had just parted from those who were most nearly connected with him. Their cries and contortions had appalled⁴⁶⁾ the European ministers of justice,

⁴²⁾ sheriff, (eigentlich „shire-Graf“, siehe L. Cl. I, 22) ist der oberste Polizeibeamte einer Grafschaft (shire). ⁴³⁾ the eve ist der Vorabend eines Ereignisses, evening der Abend. ⁴⁴⁾ consistent with, wörtlich: zusammenstehend mit, „mit etwas anderem bestehen könnend, vereinbar, verträglich mit“. ⁴⁵⁾ spr. palankên. ⁴⁶⁾ spr. appawl'.

but had not produced the smallest effect on the iron stoicism of the prisoner. The only anxiety which he expressed was that men of his own priestly caste might be in attendance to take charge of his corpse. He again desired to be remembered to his friends in the Council, mounted the scaffold with firmness, and gave the signal to the executioner. The moment that⁴⁷⁾ the drop⁴⁸⁾ fell, a howl of sorrow and despair rose from the innumerable spectators. Hundreds turned away their faces from the polluting sight, fled with loud wailings towards the Hōoglèy, and plunged into its holy waters, as if to purify themselves from the guilt of having looked on such a crime. These feelings were not confined to Calcutta. The whole province was greatly excited and the population of Dacca, in particular, gave strong signs of grief and dismay.

R Of Impey's conduct it is impossible to speak too severely. We have already said that, in our opinion, he acted unjustly in refusing to respite Nuncomar. No rational man can doubt that he took this course in order to gratify the Governor-General. If we had ever had any doubts on that point, they would have been dispelled by a letter which Mr. Gleig has published. Hastings, three or four years later, described Impey as the man "to whose support he was at one time indebted for the safety of his fortune, honour, and reputation." These strong words can refer only to the case of Nuncomar; and they must mean that Impey hanged Nuncomar in order to support Hastings. It is, therefore, our deliberate opinion that Impey, sitting as a judge, put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose. / R

18 But we look on the conduct of Hastings in a somewhat different light. He was struggling for fortune, honour, liberty, all that makes life valuable. He was beset by rancorous and unprincipled enemies. From his collèagues he could expect no justice. He cannot be blamed for wishing to crush

⁴⁷⁾ the moment that: die relative Konjunktion that wird gebraucht an Stelle des relativen Pronomens (deutsch: in welchem), wenn sich der Relativsatz auf eine durch ein Substantiv ausgedrückte Zeitbestimmung bezieht. ⁴⁸⁾ Mit a drop (zu: to drop, „fallen“ und „fallen machen“; verwandt mit „Tropfen, tröpfeln“) bezeichnet man etwas Herunterhängendes oder Herunterfallendes, wie: Tropfen, Ohrgehänge, Crystalle an Leuchtern und dergl. Hier ist darunter zu verstehen die Vorrichtung am Galgen, welche den Verurtheilten bis zum Augenblicke der Hinrichtung unterstützt, eine Art Fallbrücke.

his accusers. He was indeed bound to use only legitimate means for that end. But it was not strange that he should have thought any means legitimate which were pronounced legitimate by the sages of the law, by men whose peculiar duty it was to deal justly between adversaries, and whose education might be supposed to have peculiarly qualified them for the discharge of that duty. Nobody demands from a party the unbending⁴⁹⁾ equity of a judge. The reason that judges are appointed is, that even a good man cannot be trusted to decide a cause in which he is himself concerned. Not a day⁵⁰⁾ passes on which an honest *prosecutor* does not ask for what none but a dishonest tribunal would grant. It is too much to expect that any man, when his dearest interests are at stake,⁵¹⁾ and his strongest passions excited, will, as against himself,⁵²⁾ be more just than the sworn dispensers of justice. To take an analogous case from the history of our own island: suppose⁵³⁾ that Lord Stafford,* when in the Tower on suspicion⁵⁴⁾ of being concerned in the Popish plot, had been apprised that Titus Oates had done something which might, by a questionable construction,⁵⁵⁾ be brought under the head⁵⁶⁾ of felony. Should we severely blame Lord Stafford, in the supposed case, for causing a prosecution to be instituted, for furnishing funds, for using all his influence to intercept the mercy of the Crown? We think not. If a judge, indeed, from favour to the Catholic lords, were to strain the law in order to hang Oates, such a judge would richly deserve impeachment. But it does not appear to us

⁴⁹⁾ unbending, sich nicht beugend, unbeugsam. ⁵⁰⁾ Not a day, vgl. L. Cl. III, 4. ⁵¹⁾ to be at stake „auf dem Spiele stehen“; the stake, der Stock, der Stab, bezeichnete ursprünglich unter anderem die Stange, auf der das zu treffende Ziel beim Preisschiessen oder Preiswerfen befestigt war. ⁵²⁾ „as against himself“ ist ein verkürzter Kausalsatz, vollständig: as he would act against himself. ⁵³⁾ suppose, hier Imperativ: gesetzt den Fall. ⁵⁴⁾ „on suspicion“, der Verdacht war die Grundlage, auf der seine Verhaftung beruhte, der Grund derselben. ⁵⁵⁾ construction, Aufbau, Zusammenstellung; speciell: die besondere Art der Zusammenstellung einzelner Thatsachen, die Auslegung derselben; questionable ist das, was in Frage gezogen werden kann, also nicht objektiv gewiss ist, a questionable construction, „eine Auslegung, an deren Richtigkeit man zweifeln kann“. ⁵⁶⁾ the head ist die Ueberschrift, der Titel, und zugleich das, was sich unter einer Ueberschrift befindet, das Kapitel.

that the Catholic lord, by bringing the case before the judge for decision, would materially overstep the limits of a just self-defence. /

While, therefore, we have not the least doubt that this memorable execution is to be attributed to Hastings, we doubt whether it can with justice be reckoned among his crimes. That his conduct was dictated by a profound policy is evident. He was in a minority in Council.⁵⁷⁾ It was possible that he might long be in a minority. He knew the native character well. He knew in what abundance accusations are certain to flow in against the most innocent inhabitant of India who is under the frown of power. There was not in the whole black population of Bengal a placeholder, a place-hunter, a government tenant, who did not think that he might better himself by sending up a deposition against the Governor-General. Under these circumstances, the persecuted statesman resolved to teach the whole crew of accusers and witnesses that, though in a minority at the council board, he was still to be feared. / The lesson which he gave them was indeed a lesson not to be forgotten. The head of the combination which had been formed against him, the richest, the most powerful, the most artful of the Hindoos, distinguished by the favour of those who then held the government, fenced round by the superstitious reverence of millions, was hanged in broad day before many thousands of people. Every thing that⁵⁸⁾ could make the warning impressive, dignity in the sufferer, solemnity in the proceeding, was found in this case. The helpless rage and vain struggles of the Council made the triumph more signal.⁵⁹⁾ From that moment the conviction of every native was that it was safer to take the part of Hastings in a minority than that of Francis in a majority, and that he who was so venturous as

⁵⁷⁾ Wie Government und Parliament, so kann auch Council ohne Artikel gebraucht werden, wenn man weniger an die betreffende Zusammensetzung des Rathes, als an diese Behörde an sich, als bestehende Institution denkt. ⁵⁸⁾ Every thing that „alles, was“; die verschiedenen Umstände, an welche man hier denken darf, können nicht als eine Einheit vorgestellt werden, sondern müssen als eine Menge von Einheiten angeschaut werden. In diesem Falle ist das engl. „all“ nicht zulässig. ⁵⁹⁾ signal ist das, was ein besonderes Zeichen trägt, sich auszeichnet, daher: bedeutend, grossartig.

to join in running down the Governor-General⁶⁰⁾ might chance, in the phrase of the Eastern poet, to find a tiger, while beating the jungle for a deer. The voices of a thousand informers were silenced in an instant. From that time, whatever difficulties Hastings might have to encounter, he was never molested by accusations from natives of India.

R 21 It is a remarkable circumstance that one of the letters of Hastings to Dr. Johnson bears date a very few hours after the death of Nuncomar. While the whole settlement was in commotion, while a mighty and ancient priesthood were weeping over the remains of their chief, the conqueror in that deadly grapple sat down, with characteristic self-possession, to write about the Tour⁶¹⁾ to the Hebrides,*⁶²⁾ Jones's Persian Grammar, and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India.

In the mean time, intelligence of the Rohilla war, and of the first disputes between Hastings and his colleagues, had reached London. The directors took part with the majority, and sent out a letter filled with severe reflections on the conduct of Hastings. They condemned, in strong but just terms, the iniquity of undertaking offensive wars merely for the sake of pecuniary advantages. But they utterly forgot that, if Hastings had by illicit means obtained pecuniary advantages, he had done so, not for his own benefit, but in order to meet their demands. To enjoin honesty, and to insist on having what could not be honestly got, was then the constant practice of the Company. As Lady Macbeth says of her husband, they "would not play false, and yet would wrongly win*."

R 22 The Regulating Act, by which Hastings had been appointed Governor-General for five years, empowered the Crown to remove him on an address from the Company. Lord North* was desirous to procure such an address.⁶³⁾ The three members of Council who had been sent out from England were men of his own choice. General Clavering, in particular, was supported by a large parliamentary connexion, such as no cabinet*⁶⁴⁾ could be inclined to disoblige. The

⁶⁰⁾ to join in running down the Governor-General, „sich anzuschliessen bei der Hetzjagd auf den General-Gouverneur“.

⁶¹⁾ spr. tōor; das Wort hat, wie die frz. Aussprache, so auch die frz. Bedeutung unverändert beibehalten. ⁶²⁾ spr. hēbrīdēz.

⁶³⁾ a address, a) Gesuch, b) Geschicklichkeit, c) Adresse (eines Briefes). ⁶⁴⁾ the cabinet, das Ministerium. Vgl. die Erläuterung.

23 — wish of the Minister was to displace Hastings, and to put Clavering at the head of the government. In the Court of Directors parties were very nearly balanced.⁶⁵⁾ Eleven voted against Hastings; ten for him. The Court of Proprietors* was then convened.⁶⁶⁾ The great sale-room presented a singular appearance. | Letters had been sent by the Secretary of the Treasury,* exhorting all the supporters of government who held India stock to be in attendance. Lord Sandwich* marshalled⁶⁷⁾ the friends of the administration with his usual dexterity and alertness. Fifty peers and privy councillors,* seldom seen so far eastward,⁶⁸⁾ were counted in the crowd. The debate lasted till midnight. The opponents of Hastings had a small superiority on the division;⁶⁹⁾ but a ballot was demanded; and the result was that the Governor-General triumphed by a majority of above a hundred votes over the combined efforts of the Directors and the Cabinet. The ministers were greatly exasperated by this defeat. Even Lord North lost his temper,⁷⁰⁾ no ordinary occurrence with him, and threatened to convoke parliament before Christmas, and to bring in a bill⁷¹⁾ for depriving the Company of all political power, and for restricting it to its old business of trading in silks and teas.

Colonel Macleane,* who through all this conflict had zealously supported the cause of Hastings, now thought that his employer was in imminent danger of being turned out, branded with parliamentary censure, perhaps prosecuted. The opinion of the crown lawyers* had already been taken respecting some parts of the Governor-General's conduct. It seemed to be high time to think of securing an honourable retreat. Under these circumstances, Macleane thought himself justified in producing the resignation with which he had been

⁶⁵⁾ to be balanced „sich gegenseitig aufwiegen sich im Gleichgewicht befinden“. ⁶⁶⁾ to convene, lat. convenire, a) zusammenkommen, b) zusammenkommen machen, berufen. ⁶⁷⁾ to marshal, als Marschall in's Feld führen, vorführen. ⁶⁸⁾ so far eastward: die Wohnungen der eleganten Welt liegen im Westen von London, im Westend; Leadenhall Street aber liegt im Osten der City, die direkte Fortsetzung dieser Strasse ist Whitechapel, wo der dürftigste und roheste Theil der Bevölkerung von London wohnt. ⁶⁹⁾ Ueber division siehe L. Cl. IV, 17. ⁷⁰⁾ temper, Gemüthsstimmung, hier speciell: „ruhige Gemüthsstimmung, Gemüthsruhe“. Vgl. L. Cl. VIII, 1. ⁷¹⁾ bill heisst neben Verschreibung (siehe V, 32) auch Gesetzentwurf.

intrusted. The instrument was not in very accurate form; but the Directors were too eager to be scrupulous. They accepted the resignation, fixed on Mr. Wheler, one of their own body, to succeed Hastings, and sent out orders that General Clavering, as senior member of Council, should exercise the functions of Governor-General till Mr. Wheler should arrive.

21 But, while these things were passing in England, a great change had taken place in Bengal. Monson was no more. Only four members of the government were left. Clavering and Francis were on one side, Barwell and the Governor-General on the other; and the Governor-General had the casting vote. Hastings, who had been during two years destitute of all power and patronage⁷², became at once absolute. He instantly proceeded to retaliate⁷³) on his adversaries. Their measures were reversed:⁷⁴) their creatures were displaced. A new valuation of the lands of Bengal, for the purposes of taxation, was ordered; and it was provided that the whole inquiry should be conducted by the Governor-General, and that all the letters relating to it should run in his name. He began, at the same time, to revolve vast plans of conquest and dominion⁷⁵), plans which he lived to see realised, though not by himself. His project was to form subsidiary alliances with the native princes, particularly with those of Oude and Berâr, and thus to make Britain the paramount power in India. While he was meditating these great designs, arrived the intelligence that he had ceased to be Governor-General, that his resignation had been accepted, that Wheler was coming out immediately, and that, till Wheler arrived, the chair was to be filled by Clavering.

26 Had Hastings still been in a minority, he would probably have retired without a struggle; but he was now the real master of British India, and he was not disposed to quit

⁷²) In England werden alle subalternen Beamtenstellen „by patronage“ (durch Protektion, Gönnerschaft) verliehen. Das „patronage“ ist daher von hoher Bedeutung, besonders für die persönliche Stellung jemandes innerhalb der Beamtenwelt. ⁷³) to retaliate (lat. retaliare, aus „re“ und „talis“ Vergeltung üben an. ⁷⁴) to reverse (lat. „re“ und „vertere“, zurückwenden, umkehren; frz. renverser): über den Haufen werfen, für nichtig erklären. ⁷⁵) plans of conquest and dominion: der Gegensatz zwischen „conquest“ und „dominion“ beruht darin, dass sich ersteres auf die Gebietserweiterung, letzteres (vgl. L. Cl. II, 56) auf die Machterweiterung bezieht.

his high place. He asserted that he had never given any instructions which could warrant⁷⁶⁾ the steps taken at home. What his instructions had been, he owned he had forgotten. If he had kept a copy of them he had mislaid it. But he was certain that he had repeatedly declared to the Directors that he would not resign. He could not see how the court, possessed of that declaration from himself, could receive his resignation from the doubtful hands of an agent. If the resignation were invalid, all the proceedings which were founded on that resignation were null, and Hastings was still Governor-General. |

~~27~~ He afterwards affirmed that, though his agents had not acted in conformity with his instructions, he would nevertheless have held himself bound by their acts, if Clavering had not attempted to seize the supreme power by violence. Whether this assertion were or were not true, it cannot be doubted that the imprudence of Clavering gave Hastings an advantage. | The general sent for the keys of the fort and of the treasury, took possession of the records,⁷⁷⁾ and held a council at which Francis attended. Hastings took the chair in another apartment, and Barwell sat with him. Each of the two parties had a plausible show of right. There was no authority entitled to their obedience within fifteen thousand miles. It seemed that there remained no way of settling the dispute except an appeal to arms; and from such an appeal Hastings, confident of his influence over his countrymen in India, was not inclined to shrink. He directed the officers of the garrison of Fort William and of all the neighbouring stations to obey no orders but his. At the same time, with admirable judgment, he offered to submit the case to the Supreme Court, and to abide by⁷⁸⁾ its decision. By making this proposition he risked nothing; yet it was a proposition which his opponents could hardly reject. Nobody could be treated as a criminal for obeying what the judges should solemnly pronounce to be the lawful government. The boldest man would shrink from taking arms in defence of what the judges should pronounce to be usurpation. Claver-

⁷⁶⁾ to warrant (frz. garantir), a) Sicherheit gewähren, Bürgschaft leisten, b) berechtigen, bestätigen, c) sicher stellen vor (from). ⁷⁷⁾ a record ist ein amtlicher Bericht, daher: Protokoll, Dokument, Akte; „the records“ sind die gesammten amtlichen Akten, das Archiv. ⁷⁸⁾ Die Präposition „by“ ist hier als Ausdruck der räumlichen Nähe aufzufassen, deutsch „bei“.

ing and Francis, after some delay, unwillingly consented to abide by the award of the court. The court pronounced that the resignation was invalid, and that therefore Hastings was still Governor-General under the Regulating Act; and the defeated members of the Council, finding that the sense of the whole settlement was against them, acquiesced in the decision.

88 About this time arrived the news that, after a suit which had lasted several years, the Franconian courts had decreed a divorce between Imhoff and his wife. The Baron left Calcutta, carrying with him the means of buying an estate in Saxony. The lady became Mrs. Hastings. The event was celebrated by great festivities; and all the most conspicuous persons at Calcutta, without distinction of parties, were invited to the Government-house. Clavering, as the Mahomedan chronicler⁷⁹⁾ tells the story, was sick in mind and body, and excused⁸⁰⁾ himself from joining the splendid assembly. But Hastings, whom, as it should seem, success in ambition and in love had put into high good-humour, would take no denial. He went himself to the General's house, and at length brought his vanquished rival in triumph to the gay⁸¹⁾ circle which surrounded the bride. The exertion was too much for a frame broken by mortification as well as by disease. Clavering died a few days later.

⁷⁹⁾ chronicler, „Chronist“, ist eine Bezeichnung des Geschichtsschreibers, der es als seine Aufgabe betrachtet, die laufenden historischen Ereignisse einfach zu verzeichnen. Der eigentliche Geschichtsforscher sucht den logischen Zusammenhang zwischen den einzelnen historischen Thatfachen auf und sieht in dem Laufe der Ereignisse die Verwirklichung allgemeiner Ideen. ⁸⁰⁾ to excuse one's self from, „sich entschuldigen, dass man etwas nicht thun könne“; „from“ führt uns hier, wie in „to abstain from“, die Vorstellung einer Trennung vor. ⁸¹⁾ gay, hier nicht „munter“, sondern „glänzend, prächtig“. Siehe L. Cl. IV, 7.

VI.

**Warren Hastings als General-Gouverneur.
Zweite Periode.**

1779 — Frühling 1785.

20 Wheler, who came out expecting to be Governor-General, and was forced to content himself with a seat at the Council Board, generally voted with Francis. But the Governor-General, with Barwell's help and his own casting vote, was still the master. Some change took place at this time in the feeling both of the Court of Directors and of the Ministers of the Crown. All designs against Hastings were dropped; and, when his original term of five years expired, he was quietly re-appointed. The truth is, that the fearful dangers to which the public interests in every quarter were now exposed, made both Lord North and the Company unwilling to part with ¹⁾ a Governor whose talents, experience, and resolution, enmity itself was compelled to acknowledge.

30 The crisis was indeed formidable. The great and victorious empire, on the throne of which George the Third had taken his seat eighteen years before, with brighter hopes than had attended the accession of any of the long line of English sovereigns, had, by the most senseless misgovernment, been brought to the verge of ruin. In America millions of Englishmen were at war* with the country from which their blood, their language, their religion, and their institutions were derived, and to which, but a short time before, they had been as strongly attached as the inhabitants of Norfolk and Leicestershire.²⁾ The great powers of Europe, humbled to the dust by the vigour and genius which had guided the councils of George the Second,* now rejoiced in the prospect of a signal revenge. The time was approaching when our island, while struggling to keep down the United States of America, and pressed with a still nearer danger by the too just discontents of Ireland, was to be assailed by France, Spain, and Holland, and to be threatened by the armed neutrality of the Baltic; when even our maritime supremacy was

¹⁾ to part with, sich trennen von; vgl. frz. séparer d'avec;

²⁾ spr. léstershir. Vgl. L. Cl. I, 2.

to be in jeopardy; ³⁾ when hostile fleets were to command the Straits of Calpe* and the Mexican Sea; when the British flag was to be scarcely able to protect the British Channel. Great as were the faults of Hastings, it was happy for our country that at that conjuncture, the most terrible through which she has ever passed, he was the ruler of her Indian dominions. /

/ An attack by sea on Bengal was little to be apprehended. The danger was that the European enemies of England might form an alliance with some native power, might furnish that power with troops, arms, and ammunition, and might thus assail our possessions on the side of the land. It was chiefly from the Mahráttas* that Hastings anticipated ⁴⁾ danger. The original seat of that singular people was the wild range of hills which runs along the western coast of India. In the reign of Aurungzebe the inhabitants of those regions, led by the great Sēvajée, began to descend on the possessions of their wealthier and less warlike neighbours. The energy, ferocity, and cunning of the Mahrattas, soon made them the most conspicuous among the new powers which were generated by the corruption of the decaying monarchy. At first they were only robbers. They soon rose to the dignity of conquerors. Half the provinces of the empire were turned into Mahratta principalities. Freebooters, sprung from low castes, and accustomed to menial ⁵⁾ employments, became mighty Rajahs. The Bónslas,* at the head of a band of plunderers, occupied the vast region of Berar. The Guicowár,* which is, being interpreted, the Herdsman, founded that dynasty which still reigns in Guzerát.* The houses of Scindia and Holkár* waxed great in Málwa. One adventurous captain made his nest on the impregnable rock of Gōōti. Another became the lord of the thousand villages which are scattered among the green rice-fields of Tanjòre.*

2 That was the time, throughout India, of double government. The form and the power were every where separated. The Mussulman nabobs who had become sovereign princes, the Vizier* in Oude, and the Nízám* at Hyderabád, still called

³⁾ jeopardy, spr. jépperdy (frz. jeu parti, getheiltes Spiel, Bezeichnung eines Streit- und Wettgesanges zwischen zwei Dichtern): grosse Gefahr. ⁴⁾ to anticipate, aus lat. „ante“ und „capere“, schon vorher auffassen: ahnen, befürchten. ⁵⁾ menial, „auf das Gesinde bezüglich, niedrig“; von gleichem Stamme mit frz. „maison“ u. „ménage“ (lat. „manere“, sb. „mansio“).

themselves the viceroys of the house of Tamerlàne.* In the same manner the Mahratta states, though really independent of each other, pretended to be members of one empire. They all acknowledged, by words and ceremonies, the supremacy of the heir of Sevajee,* a *roi fainéant* who chewed bang⁶⁾ and toyed with dancing girls in a state prison at Sattára,* and of his Peshwa* or mayor of the palace,⁷⁾ a great hereditary magistrate, who kept a court⁸⁾ with kingly state at Pōonah, and whose authority was obeyed in the spacious provinces of Aurungabád and Bejapōor.

Some months before war was declared in Europe the government of Bengal was alarmed by the news that a French adventurer, who passed for a man of quality, had arrived at Poonah. It was said that he had been received there with great distinction, that he had delivered to the Peshwa letters and presents from Louis the Sixteenth, and that a treaty, hostile to England, had been concluded between France and the Mahrattas.

Hastings immediately resolved to strike the first blow. The title of the Peshwa was not undisputed. A portion of the Mahratta nation was favourable to a pretender.⁹⁾ The Governor-General determined to espouse this pretender's interest, to move an army across the peninsula of India, and to form a close alliance with the chief of the house of Bonsla, who ruled Berar, and who, in power and dignity, was inferior to none of the Mahratta princes. /

R The army had marched, and the negotiations with Berar were in progress, when a letter from the English consul at Căiro brought the news that war had been proclaimed both in London and Paris. All the measures which the crisis required were adopted by Hastings without a moment's delay. The French factories in Bengal were seized. Orders were sent to Madras that Pondicherry¹⁰⁾ should instantly be occupied. Near Calcutta, works were thrown up which were thought to render the approach of a hostile force impossible. A maritime establishment¹¹⁾ was formed for the defence of

⁶⁾ Ueber bang siehe L. Cl. II, 28. ⁷⁾ mayor of the palace, der „Majordomus“ der Merovinger. ⁸⁾ to keep a court, siehe L. Cl. I, 34. ⁹⁾ pretender, zu: to pretend „vorgeben“ und „Anspruch erheben auf“, der Prätendent. ¹⁰⁾ spr. pondisherry. ¹¹⁾ establishment ist jede feste Organisation; „maritime establishment“ daher „Flotte“.

the river. Nine new battálions of sepoy¹²⁾ were raised, and a corps¹³⁾ of native artíllery was formed out of the hardy Lascars* of the Bay of Bengal. Having made these arrangements, the Governor-General with calm confidence pronounced his presidency secure from all attack, unless the Mahrattas should march against it in conjunction with the French.

2 The expedition which Hastings had sent westward was not so speedily or completely successful as most of his undertakings. The commanding officer procrástinated.¹⁴⁾ The authorities at Bombay blundered. But the Governor-General persevered. A new commander repaired the errors of his predecessor. Several brilliant actions spread the military renown of the English through regions where no European flag had ever been seen. It is probable that, if a new and more formidable danger had not compelled Hastings to change his whole policy, his plans respecting the Mahratta empire would have been carried into complete effect.

The authorities in England had wisely sent out to Bengal, as commander of the forces and member of the council, one of the most distinguished soldiers of that time. Sir Eyre Coote* had, many years before, been conspicuous among the founders of the British empire in the East. At the council of war which preceded the battle of Plassey, he earnestly recommended, in opposition to the majority, that daring course which, after some hesitation, was adopted, and which was crowned with such splendid success. / He subsequently com-
manded in the south of India against the brave and unfortunate Lally,* gained the decisive battle of Wandewash* over the French and their native allies, took Pondicherry, and made the English power supreme in the Carnatic. Since those great exploits near twenty years had elapsed. Coote had no longer the bodily activity which he had shown in earlier days; nor was the vigour of his mind altogether unimpaired. He was capricious and fretful, and required much coaxing¹⁵⁾ to keep him in good-humour. It must, we fear, be added that

¹²⁾ Ueber „sepoy“ siehe L. Cl. II, 51. ¹³⁾ a corps, spr. core; der Plural „corps“ wird gesprochen cores. ¹⁴⁾ to procrastinate (von dem Grundworte „cras“, morgen, also eigentlich: auf den folgenden Tag verschieben), aufschieben, vertagen. ¹⁵⁾ to coax, spr. cōx, „schmeicheln, kosen“.

the love of money had grown upon¹⁶⁾ him, and that he thought more about his allowances, and less about his duties, than might have been expected from so eminent a member of so noble a profession. Still he was perhaps the ablest officer that was then to be found in the British army. Among the native soldiers his name was great and his influence unrivalled. Nor is he yet forgotten by them. Now and then a white-bearded old sepoy may still be found, who loves to talk of Porto Novo* and Pollilòre.* It is but a short time since one of those aged men came to present a memorial to an English officer, who holds one of the highest employments¹⁷⁾ in India. A print of Coote hung in the room. The veteran recognised at once that face and figure which he had not seen for more than half a century, and, forgetting his salàm¹⁸⁾ to the living, halted,¹⁹⁾ drew himself up, lifted his hand, and with solemn reverence paid his military obeisance²⁰⁾ to the dead.

R. J. 4 Coote, though he did not, like Barwell, vote constantly with the Governor-General, was by no means inclined to join in systematic opposition, and on most questions concurred with Hastings, who did his best, by assiduous courtship, and by readily granting the most exorbitant allowances, to gratify the strongest passions of the old soldier.

It seemed likely at this time that a general reconciliation would put an end to the quarrels which had, during some years, weakened and disgraced the government of Bengal. The dangers of the empire might well induce men of patriotic feeling — and of patriotic feeling neither Hastings nor Francis was destitute — to forget private enmities, and to cō-operate heartily for the general good. Coote had never been concerned in faction. Wheler was thoroughly tired of it. Barwell had made an ample fortune, and, though he had promised that he would not leave Calcutta while his help was needed in Council, was most desirous to return to Eng-

¹⁶⁾ had grown upon him „hatte Macht gewonnen über ihn“; der Gebrauch der Präposition „upon“ macht das Bild recht anschaulich. ¹⁷⁾ employment, a) Beschäftigung, b) die Stelle, an welche die Beschäftigung geknüpft ist, der Posten. ¹⁸⁾ salam (oder salaam) spr. salàm, beide a mit deutschem α-Laute, bedeutet „Friede“ und ist zugleich das indische Begrüßungswort. ¹⁹⁾ to halt, spr. hawlt, verwandt dem deutschen „halten“, bedeutet a) Halt machen, b) hinken. ²⁰⁾ obeisance (frz. obéissance), spr. óbàsance, die Honneurs.

land, and exerted himself to promote an arrangement which would set him at liberty. A compact was made, by which Francis agreed to desist from opposition, and Hastings engaged that the friends of Francis should be admitted to a fair share of the honours and emoluments of the service. During a few months after this treaty there was apparent harmony at the council-board. [—

5 Harmony, indeed, was never more necessary; for at this moment internal calamities, more formidable than war itself, menaced Bengal. The authors of the Regulating Act of 1773 had established two independent powers, the one judicial, the other political; and, with a carelessness scandalously common in English legislation, had omitted to define the limits of either. The judges took advantages of the indistinctness, and attempted to draw to themselves supreme authority, not only within Calcutta, but through the whole of the great territory subject to the presidency of Fort William. There are few Englishmen who will not admit that the English law, in spite of modern improvements, is neither so cheap nor so speedy as might be wished. Still,²¹⁾ it is a system which has grown up among us. In some points, it has been fashioned²²⁾ to suit our feelings; in others, it has gradually fashioned our feelings to suit itself. Even to its worst evils we are accustomed; and, therefore, though we may complain of them, they do not strike us with the horror and dismay which would be produced by a new grievance of smaller severity. In India the case is widely different. English law, transplanted to that country, has all the vices from which we suffer here; it has them all in a far higher degree; and it has other vices, compared with which the worst vices from which we suffer are trifles. Dilatory here, it is far more dilatory in a land where the help of an interpreter is needed by every judge and by every advocate. Costly here, it is far more costly in a land into which the legal practitioners²³⁾ must be imported from an immense distance. All English labour in India, from the labour of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief,

²¹⁾ still „immerhin aber“, ist hier Ausdruck des Zugeständnisses; yet würde den Gegensatz ausdrücken. ²²⁾ to fashion (lat. „factio,“ zu „facio;“ vgl. auch frz. façon), nach einem Muster gestalten, oder überhaupt umgestalten. Der Infinitiv „to suit“ hat konsekutive Bedeutung: so gestalten, dass. ²³⁾ legal practitioners, „Rechtspraktikanten.“

down to that of a groom or a watchmaker, must be paid for at a higher rate than at home. No man will be banished, and banished to the torrid zone, for nothing. The rule holds good ²⁴⁾ with respect to the legal profession. No English barrister will work, fifteen thousand miles from all his friends, with the thermómeter at ninety-six* in the shade, for the emoluments which will content him in chambers that overlook the Thames.* Accordingly, the fees at Calcutta are about three times as great as the fees of Westminster Hall;* and this, though the people of India are, beyond all comparison, poorer than the people of England. Yet the delay and the expense, grievous as they are, form the smallest part of the evil which English law, imported without modifications into India, could not fail to produce. The strongest feelings of our nature, honour, religion, female modesty, rose up against the innovation. Arrest on mesne ²⁵⁾ process* was the first step in most civil proceedings; ²⁶⁾ and to a native of rank arrest was not merely a restraint, but a foul personal indignity. Oaths were required in every stage of every suit; ²⁷⁾ and the feeling of a Quaker* about an oath is hardly stronger than that of a respectable native. That the apartments of a woman of quality should be entered by strange men, or that her face should be seen by them, are, in the East, intolerable outrages, outrages which are more dreaded than death, and which can be éxpiated only by the shedding of blood. To these outrages the most distinguished families of Bengal, Bahar,* and Orissa,* were now exposed. Imagine what the state of our own country would be, if a jurisprudence were on a sudden introduced among us, which should be to us what our jurisprudence was to our Asiatic subjects. Imagine what the state of our country would be, if it were enacted that any man, by merely swearing that a debt was due to him, should acquire a right to insult the persons of men of the most honourable and sacred callings and of women of the most shrinking delicacy, to horsewhip a general officer, ²⁸⁾ to put a bishop in the stocks, to treat ladies in the way which called forth the blow of Wat Tyler.* Something

²⁴⁾ to hold good, „als gut halten, ausdauern, sich bestätigen“. ²⁵⁾ mesne, spr. mēen. ²⁶⁾ civil proceeding, „Civilprozess“. ²⁷⁾ suit, d. h. lawsuit, „Prozess“. ²⁸⁾ general officer, öffentlicher Beamter, im Gegensatz zum „private officer“.

like this was the effect of the attempt which the Supreme Court made to extend its jurisdiction over the whole of the Company's territory. /

8 A reign of terror began, of terror heightened by mystery; for even that which was endured was less horrible than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was next to be expected from this strange²⁹⁾ tribunal. It came from beyond the black water, as the people of India, with mysterious horror, call the sea. It consisted of judges not one of whom was familiar with the usages of the millions over whom they claimed boundless authority. Its records were kept in unknown characters;³⁰⁾ its sentences were pronounced in unknown sounds. It had already collected round itself an army of the worst part of the native population, informers, and false witnesses, and common barrators,³¹⁾ and agents of chicane,³²⁾ and, above all, a banditti³³⁾ of bailiffs' followers,³⁴⁾ compared with whom the retainers³⁵⁾ of the worst English spunging-houses,³⁶⁾ in the worst times, might be considered as upright and tender-hearted. Many natives, highly considered among their countrymen, were seized, hurried up to Calcutta, flung into the common gaol, not for any crime even imputed,³⁷⁾ not for any debt that had been proved, but merely as a

²⁹⁾ strange, hier: fremd (from beyond the black water); vgl. L. Cl. I, 29. ³⁰⁾ character, nicht nur Handschrift, sondern auch Buchstabe. ³¹⁾ Unter „barrator“ versteht man denjenigen, welcher entweder selbst gern prozessirt oder andre zum Prozessiren anstachelt. ³²⁾ agents of chicane, Agenten der Chicane, Chicaneurs. ³³⁾ a banditti: der Plural „banditti“ ist hier als ein Kollektiv behandelt; die Vielheit wird dadurch als eine einheitliche Masse, eine Bande vorgeführt. ³⁴⁾ Nicht zu verwechseln sind: followers, Anhänger, und successors, Nachfolger. ³⁵⁾ to retain, zurückhalten, hat auch die Bedeutung: in seine Dienste nehmen; a retainer of one ist derjenige, welcher im Dienste eines anderen thätig ist, daher auch der Anhänger jemandes; the retainers of the spunging-houses „diejenigen, welche die Schuldgefängnisse in ihre Dienste nehmen, ihnen zu thun geben“, ist ironisch gemeint und bezeichnet die dort untergebrachten Schuldner, Betrüger. ³⁶⁾ spunging-houses (wörtlich: Schmarotzerhäuser, d. h. Häuser, in denen Schmarotzer, die auf Kosten anderer leben, untergebracht werden) sind die Schuldgefängnisse Londons; vgl. to sponge (auch spunge), a) mit einem Schwamme wischen, b) wie ein Schwamm in sich einsaugen, und im Anschluss hieran, c) schmarotzen. ³⁷⁾ not for any crime even imputed, „ohne dass ihnen ein Verbrechen auch nur zur Last gelegt (viel weniger noch nachgewiesen) worden wäre.“

precaution till their cause should come to trial. | There were instances in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils³⁸⁾ of Impey. } The harams of noble Mahommedans, sanctuaries respected in the East, by governments which respected nothing else, were burst³⁹⁾ open by gangs of bailiffs. The Mussulmans, braver and less accustomed to submission than the Hindoos, sometimes stood on their defence; and there were instances in which they shed their blood in the doorway, while defending, sword in hand, the sacred apartments of their women. Nay, it seemed as if even the faint-hearted Bengalee, who had crouched at the feet of Surajah Dowlah, who had been mute during the administration of Vansittart,* would at length find courage in despair. No Mahratta invasion had ever spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers. All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court. |

Every class of the population, English and native, with the exception of the ravenous pettifoggers⁴⁰⁾ who fattened on the misery and terror of an immense community, cried out loudly against this fearful oppression. But the judges were immovable. If a bailiff was resisted, they ordered the soldiers to be called out. If a servant of the Company, in conformity with the orders of the government, withstood the miserable catchpoles⁴¹⁾ who, with Impey's writs in their hands, exceeded the insolence and rapacity of gang-robbers, he was flung into prison for a contempt.⁴²⁾ The lapse of sixty years, the virtue and wisdom of many eminent magistrates who have during that time administered justice in the Supreme Court, have not effaced from the minds of the people of Bengal the r  coll  ction of those evil days.

³⁸⁾ alguazil, spr.   lg  z  el, ein spanisches Wort, „der Gerichtsdiener“. ³⁹⁾ to burst, a) bersten, b) bersten machen, brechen. ⁴⁰⁾ a pettifogger ist derjenige, welcher es liebt, auf kleinliche („petty“ frz. petit) Anl  sse hin Prozesse zu schmieden, Prozesskr  mer. ⁴¹⁾ catchpole oder catchpoll (w  rtlich: Kopfschn  pper) ist eine ver  chtliche Bezeichnung des B  ttels; deutsch: H  scher. ⁴²⁾ contempt bedeutet in der Rechtssprache eine Widersetzlichkeit gegen die Verf  gungen des Gerichts oder gegen den ausf  hrenden Beamten.

10 The members of the government were, on this subject, united as one man. Hastings had courted the judges; he had found them useful instruments. But he was not disposed to make them his own masters, or the masters of India. His mind⁴³⁾ was large; his knowledge of the native character most accurate. He saw that the system pursued by the Supreme Court was degrading to the government and ruinous to the people; and he resolved to oppose it manfully. The consequence was, that the friendship, if that be the proper word for such a connexion, which had existed between him and Impey, was for a time completely dissolved. The government placed itself firmly between the tyrannical tribunal and the people. The Chief Justice proceeded to the wildest excesses. The Governor-General and all the members of Council were served with writs,⁴⁴⁾ calling on them to appear before the King's justices, and to answer for their public acts. This was too much. Hastings, with just scorn, refused to obey the call, set at liberty the persons wrongfully detained by the Court, and took measures for resisting the outrageous proceedings of the sheriffs' officers, if necessary, by the sword. 11 But he had in view another device which might prevent the necessity of an appeal to arms. He was seldom at a loss for an expedient; and he knew Impey well. The expedient, in this case, was a very simple one, neither more nor less than a bribe. Impey was, by act of parliament, a judge, independent of the government of Bengal, and entitled to a salary of eight thousand a year. Hastings proposed to make him also a judge in the Company's service, removable at the pleasure of the government of Bengal; and to give him, in that capacity, about eight thousand a year more. It was understood that, in consideration of this new salary, Impey would desist from urging the high pretensions of his court. If he did urge these pretensions, the government could, at a moment's notice, eject him from the new place which had been created for him. The bargain was struck; Bengal was saved; an appeal to force was averted; and the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous. / 12

Of Impey's conduct it is unnecessary to speak. It was of a piece with almost every part of his conduct that comes

⁴³⁾ mind bezieht sich hier auf das Denkvermögen, die Vernunft; wir würden sagen: „Sein Blick“; vgl. L. Cl. III, 14.

⁴⁴⁾ writ „die gerichtliche Verfügung oder Citation.“

under the notice of history. No other such judge has dishonoured the English ermine,⁴⁵⁾ since Jefferies* drank himself to death in the Tower. But we cannot agree with those who have blamed Hastings for this transaction. The case stood thus. The negligent manner in which the Regulating Act had been framed put it in the power of the Chief Justice to throw a great country into the most dreadful confusion. He was determined to use his power to the utmost, unless he was paid to be still; and Hastings consented to pay him. The necessity was to be deplored. It is also to be deplored that pirates should be able to exact ransom by threatening to make their captives walk the plank.⁴⁶⁾ But to ransom a captive from pirates has always been held a humane and Christian act; and it would be absurd to charge the payer of the ransom with corrupting the virtue of the *córsair*. This, we seriously think, is a not unfair illustration of the relative position of Impey, Hastings, and the people of India. Whether it was right in Impey to demand or to accept a price for powers which, if they really belonged to him, he could not abdicate, which, if they did not belong to him, he ought never to have usurped, and which in neither case he could honestly sell, is one question. It is quite another question, whether Hastings was not right to give any sum, however large, to any man, however worthless, rather than either surrender millions of human beings to pillage, or rescue them by civil war.

Francis strongly opposed this arrangement. It may, indeed, be suspected that personal aversion to Impey was as strong a motive with Francis as regard for the welfare of the province. To a mind burning with resentment, it might seem better to leave Bengal to the oppressor than to redeem it by enriching them. It is not improbable, on the other hand, that Hastings may have been the more willing to resort to an expedient agreeable to the Chief Justice, because that high functionary had already been so serviceable, and might, when existing dissensions were composed, be serviceable again.

⁴⁵⁾ the English ermine, „der englische Hermelin“, die Amtstracht der englischen Richter. ⁴⁶⁾ the plank, „die Planke“ bezeichnet speciell das Brett, auf welches ein Verurtheilter zu treten hat, wenn er aufgeknüpft werden soll; „to walk the plank“ also: gehängt werden.

2 But it was not on this point alone that Francis was now opposed to Hastings. The peace between them proved to be only a short and hollow truce, during which their mutual aversion was constantly becoming stronger. At length an explosion took place. Hastings publicly charged Francis with having deceived him, and with having induced Barwell to quit the service by insincere promises. Then came a dispute, such as frequently arises even between honourable men, when they may make important agreements by mere verbal communication. An impartial historian will probably be of opinion that they had misunderstood each other; but their minds were so much embittered that they imputed to each other nothing less than deliberate villany. "I do not," said Hastings, in a minute⁴⁷⁾ recorded on the Consultations* of the Government, "I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." After the Council had risen, Francis put a challenge into the Governor-General's hand. It was instantly accepted. They met, and fired. Francis was shot through the body. He was carried to a neighbouring house, where it appeared that the wound, though severe, was not mortal. Hastings inquired repeatedly after his enemy's health, and proposed to call on him; but Francis coldly declined the visit. He had a proper sense,⁴⁸⁾ he said, of the Governor-General's politeness, but could not consent to any private interview. They could meet only at the council-board.

In a very short time it was made signally manifest to how great a danger the Governor-General had, on this occasion, exposed his country. A crisis arrived with which he, and he alone, was competent to deal. It is not too much to say that, if he had been taken from the head of affairs, the years 1780 and 1781 would have been as fatal to our power in Asia as to our power in America.

The Mahrattas had been the chief objects of apprehension to Hastings. The measures which he had adopted for the purpose of breaking their power, had at first been frustrated by the errors of those whom he was compelled to employ; but his perseverance and ability seemed likely to be

⁴⁷⁾ a minute, „ein kurzer Entwurf, eine Skizze“. ⁴⁸⁾ proper sense, „gebührende Empfindung, gebührende Würdigung“. Ueber „sense“ vgl. L. Cl. II, 21; bezüglich „proper“ siehe L. Cl. VI, 27.

crowned with success, when a far more formidable danger showed itself in a distant quarter.⁴⁹⁾

About thirty years before this time, a Mahomedan soldier had begun to distinguish himself in the wars of Southern India. His education had been neglected; his extraction was humble. His father had been a petty officer of *révenûe*; his grandfather a wandering *dérviſe*.^{*} But though thus meanly descended, though ignorant even of the alphabet, the adventurer had no sooner been placed at the head of a body of troops than he approved himself a man born for conquest and command. Among the crowd of chiefs who were struggling for a share of India, none could compare with him in the qualities of the captain⁵⁰⁾ and the statesman. He became a general; he became a sovereign. Out of the fragments of old principalities, which had gone to pieces in the general wreck, he formed for himself a great, compáct, and vigorous empire. That empire he ruled with the ability, severity, and vigilance of Louis the Eleventh.^{*} Licentious in his pleasures, implacable in his revenge, he had yet enlargement of mind⁵¹⁾ enough to perceive how much the prosperity of subjects adds to the strength of governments. He was an oppressor: but he had at least the merit of protecting his people against all oppression except his own. He was now in extreme old age;⁵²⁾ but his intellect was as clear, and his spirit as high, as in the prime⁵³⁾ of manhood. Such was the great Hyder Áli,^{*} the founder of the Mahomedan kingdom of Mýsore, and the most formidable enemy with whom the English conquerors of India have ever had to contend.

Had Hastings been governor of Madrás, Hyder would have been either made a friend, or vigourously encountered as an enemy. Unhappily the English authorities in the south

⁴⁹⁾ quarter, „Viertel,“ daneben „Stadttheil,“ aber auch „Theil eines Gebietes;“ übersetze: in einer entfernten Gegend.
⁵⁰⁾ captain, Hauptmann (bestimmte militärische Rangstufe), und im weiteren Sinne: Truppenführer (zu dem lat. „caput,“ also eigentlich „der an der Spitze Stehende“). ⁵¹⁾ enlargement of mind, vgl. II, 21. ⁵²⁾ age ist ein relativer Begriff, so dass jede specielle Altersstufe durch ein Beiwort näher bezeichnet werden muss. ⁵³⁾ prime (lat. primus) bezeichnet den ersten Theil, daher a) Anfang, b) Anfang des natürlichen Jahres, Frühling, c) bildlich: der Theil des menschlichen Lebens, welcher dem Frühling zu vergleichen ist. Im Deutschen ist ein anderes Bild (Blüthe) üblich.

provoked their powerful neighbour's hostility, without being prepared to repel it. On a sudden, an army of ninety thousand men, far superior in discipline and efficiency to any other native force that could be found in India, came pouring through those wild passes which, worn by mountain torrents, and dark with jungle, lead down from the table-land of Mysore to the plains of the Carnatic. This great army was accompanied by a hundred pieces of cannon; and its movements were guided by many French officers, trained in the best military schools of Europe. = torn

Hyder was every where triumphant. The sepoy in many British garrisons flung down their arms. Some forts were surrendered by treachery, and some by despair. In a few days the whole open country north of the Coleroon* had submitted. The English inhabitants of Madras could already see by night, from the top of Mount St. Thomas, the eastern sky reddened by a vast *sémicircle* of blazing villages. The white villas, to which our countrymen retire after the daily labours of government and of trade, when the cool evening breeze springs up from the bay, were now left without inhabitants; for bands of the fierce horsemen of Mysore had already been seen prowling among the tulip-trees, and near the gay *vērándas*. Even the town was not thought secure, and the British merchants and public functionaries made haste to crowd themselves behind the cannon of Fort St. George. R

6 There were the means indeed of assembling an army which might have defended the presidency, and even driven the invader back to his mountains. Sir Hector Munro was at the head of one considerable force; Baillie was advancing with another. United, they might have presented a formidable front even to such an enemy as Hyder.* But the English commanders, neglecting those fundamental rules of the military art of which the propriety is obvious even to men who had never received a military education, deferred their junction, and were separately attacked. Baillie's detachment was destroyed. Munro was forced to abandon his baggage, to fling his guns into the tanks, and to save himself by a retreat which might be called a flight. In three weeks from the commencement of the war, the British empire in Southern India had been brought to the verge of ruin. Only a few fortified places remained to us. The glory of our arms had departed. It was known that a great French expedition

R might soon be expected to the coast of Cōrōmandél. England, beset by enemies on every side, was in no condition to protect such remote dependencies.⁵⁴⁾

Then it was that the fertile genius and serene courage of Hastings achieved their most signal triumph. A swift ship, flying before the south-west monsoon, brought the evil tidings in few days to Calcutta. In twenty-four hours the Governor-General had framed a complete plan of policy adapted to the altered state of affairs. | The struggle with Hyder was a struggle for life and death. All minor objects must be sacrificed to the preservation of the Carnatic. The disputes with the Mahrattas must be accommodated. A large military force and a supply of money must be instantly sent to Madras. But even these measures would be insufficient, unless the war, hitherto so grossly mismanaged, were placed under the direction of a vigorous mind. It was no time for trifling. Hastings determined to resort to an extreme exercise of power, to suspend the incapable governor of Fort St. George, to send Sir Eyre Coote to oppose Hyder, and to intrust that distinguished general with the whole administration of the war.

7 In spite of the sullen opposition of Francis, who had now recovered from his wound, and had returned to the Council, the Governor-General's wise and firm policy was approved by the majority of the board. The reinforcements were sent off with great expedition, and reached Madras before the French armament arrived in the Indian seas. Coote, broken by age and disease, was no longer the Coote of Wandewash; but he was still a resolute and skilful commander. The progress of Hyder was arrested; and in a few months the great victory of Porto Novo* retrieved⁵⁵⁾ the honour of the English arms.

In the mean time Francis had returned to England, and Hastings was now left perfectly unfettered. Wheler had gradually been relaxing in his opposition, and, after the departure of his vehement and implacable collèague, co-operated heartily with the Governor-General, whose influence over the

⁵⁴⁾ Unter dependencies, „Abhängigkeiten“, sind die vom Mutterlande abhängigen Kolonien zu verstehen. ⁵⁵⁾ to retrieve (identisch mit dem frz. „retrouver“, also eigentlich: wiederfinden), wieder in den früheren Zustand versetzen, wiederherstellen.

British in India, always great, had, by the vigour and success of his recent measures, been considerably increased.

8 But, though the difficulties arising from factions within the Council were at an end, another class of difficulties had become more pressing than ever. The financial embarrassment was extreme. Hastings had to find the means, not only of carrying on the government of Bengal, but of maintaining a most costly war against both Indian and European enemies in the Carnatic, and of making remittances to England. A few years before this time he had obtained relief by plundering the Mogul and enslaving the Rohillas; nor were the resources of his fruitful mind by any means exhausted.

B His first design was on Benàres,*⁵⁶⁾ a city which in wealth, population, dignity, and sanctity, was among the foremost of Asia. It was commonly believed that half a million of human beings was crowded into that labyřrĩnth of lofty allēys, rich with shrines, and minarets, and balconies, and carved oriēls,⁵⁷⁾ to which the sacred apes clung by hundreds. The traveller could scarcely make his way through the press of holy mendicants and not less holy bulls. The broad and stately flights of steps⁵⁸⁾ which descended from these swarming haunts⁵⁹⁾ to the bathing-places along the Ganges were worn every day by the footsteps of an innumerable multitude of worshippers. The schools and temples drew crowds of pious Hindōos from every province where the Brahminical faith was known. Hundreds of dēvotēes came thither every month to die: for it was believed that a peculiarly happy fate awaited the man who should pass from the sacred city into the sacred river. Nor was superstition the only motive which allured strangers to that great metropolis. Commerce had as many pilgrims as religion. All along the shores of the venerable stream lay great fleets of vessels laden with rich merchandise. From the looms of Benares went forth the most delicate silks that adorned the balls of St. James's* and of the *Petit Trianon*:* and in the bazàrs, the mūsłins* of Bengal and the sabres of Oude were mingled with the jewels of Golconda and the shāwls of Cashmère.* This rich

⁵⁶⁾ spr. bēnàrēz, mit deutschem α-Laute. ⁵⁷⁾ oriel, ein nach aussen vorspringendes Fenster zum Auslugen, ein Erkerfenster. ⁵⁸⁾ a flight of steps, eine Treppe. ⁵⁹⁾ to haunt: durch vielfache Besuche belästigen; a haunt: ein vielbesuchter Ort; swarming haunts „Tummelplätze“; (frz. „hanter“; Etymologie unsicher).

capital, and the surrounding tract, had long been under the immediate rule of a Hindoo prince who rendered homage to the Mogul emperors. During the great anarchy of India the lords⁶⁰⁾ of Benares became independent of the court of Delhi, but were compelled to submit to the authority of the Nabob of Oude. Oppressed by this formidable neighbour, they invoked the protection of the English. The English protection was given; and at length the Nabob Vizier, by a solemn treaty, ceded all his rights over Benares to the Company. From that time the Rajah was the vassal of the government of Bengal, acknowledged its supremacy, and engaged to send an annual tribute to Fort William. This tribute Cheyte Sing, the reigning prince, had paid with strict punctuality. *R*

R. Respecting the precise nature of the legal relation between the Company and the Rajah of Benares, there has been much warm and acute controversy. On the one side, it has been maintained that Cheyte Sing was merely a great subject on whom the superior power had a right to call for aid in the necessities of the empire. On the other side it has been contended that he was an independent prince, that the only claim which the Company had upon him was for a fixed tribute, and that, while the fixed tribute was regularly paid, as it assuredly was, the English had no more right to exact any further contribution from him than to demand subsidies from Holland or Denmark. Nothing is easier than to find precedents and analogies in favour of either view. *R*

Our own impression is that neither view is correct. It was too much the habit of English politicians to take it for granted that there was in India a known and definite constitution by which questions of this kind were to be decided. The truth is that, during the interval which elapsed between the fall of the House of Tamerlane and the establishment of the British ascendancy, there was no such constitution. The old order of things had passed away: the new order of things was not yet formed. All was transition, confusion, obscurity. Every body kept his head as he best might, and scrambled for whatever he could get. There have been similar seasons⁶¹⁾ in Europe. The time of the dissolution of the Carlovingian empire is an instance.

⁶⁰⁾ Unter „the lords“ sind die Rajahs von Benares zu verstehen, vgl. L. Cl. II, 37. ⁶¹⁾ „a season“ ist ein besonderer Zeitabschnitt, eine „Zeit“ mit Bezug auf die besonderen Verhältnisse, den eigenthümlichen Charakter derselben.

Who would think of seriously discussing the question, what extent of pecuniary aid and of obedience Hugh⁶²⁾ Capet* had a constitutional right to demand from the Duke of Brittany or the Duke of Normandy? The words "constitutional right" had, in that state of society, no meaning. If Hugh Capet laid hands on all the possessions of the Duke of Normandy, this might be unjust and immoral; but it would not be illegal, in the sense in which the ordinances of Charles the Tenth* were illegal. If, on the other hand, the Duke of Normandy made war on Hugh Capet, this might be unjust and immoral; but it would not be illegal, in the sense in which the expedition of Prince Louis Bónaparte* was illegal.

R Very similar to this was the state of India sixty years ago. Of the existing governments not a single one could lay claim to legitimacy, or could plead any other title than recent occupation. There was scarcely a province in which the real sovereignty and the nominal sovereignty were not disjoined. Titles and forms were still retained which implied that the heir of Tamerlane was an absolute ruler, and that the Nabobs of the provinces were his lieutenants. In reality, he was a captive. The Nabobs were in some places independent princes. In other places, as in Bengal and the Carnatic, they had, like their master, become mere phantoms, and the Company was supreme. Among the Mahrattas again the heir of Sevajee still kept the title of Rajah; but he was a prisoner, and his prime minister, the Peshwa, had become the hereditary chief of the state. The Peshwa, in his turn, was fast sinking into the same degraded situation to which he had reduced the Rajah. It was, we believe, impossible to find, from the Himalayas⁶³⁾ to Mysore, a single government which was at once a government *de facto* and a government *de jure*, which possessed the physical means of making itself feared by its neighbours and subjects, and which had at the same time the authority derived from law and long prescription.⁶⁴⁾ **R**

Hastings clearly discerned, what was hidden from most of his contemporaries, that such a state of things gave immense advantages to a ruler of great talents and few scruples. In

⁶²⁾ Hugh, spr. hù. ⁶³⁾ spr. hīmālā-yas, mit deutschen α-Lauten.
⁶⁴⁾ prescription: „Vorschrift, Verordnung“ und „lange Dauer“, daher in der Rechtssprache „Verjährung“. An obiger Stelle würde es am besten durch „Tradition“ zu übersetzen sein.

every international question that could arise, he had his option between the *de facto* ground and the *de jure* ground; and the probability was that one of those grounds would sustain any claim that it might be convenient for him to make, and enable him to resist any claim made by others. In every controversy, accordingly, he resorted to the plea which suited his immediate purpose, without troubling himself in the least about consistency⁶⁵); and thus he scarcely ever failed to find what, to persons of short memories and scanty information, seemed to be a justification for what he wanted to do. Sometimes the Nabob of Bengal is a shadow, sometimes a monarch. Sometimes the Vizier is a mere deputy, sometimes an independent pòtentate. If it is expedient for the Company to show some legal title to the revenues of Bengal, the grant under the seal of the Mogul is brought forward as an instrument of the highest authority. When the Mogul asks for the rents which were reserved to him by that very grant, he is told that he is a mere pageant, that the English power rests on a very different foundation from a charter given by him, that he is welcome⁶⁶) to play at royalty as long as he likes, but that he must expect no tribute from the real masters of India.

It is true that it was in the power of others, as well as of Hastings, to practise this *lëgërdëmain*; ⁶⁷) but in the controversies of governments, sophistry is of little use unless it be backed by power. There is a principle which Hastings was fond of asserting in the strongest terms, and on which he acted with undëviating steadiness. It is a principle which, we must own, though it may be grossly abused, can hardly be disputed in the present state of public law. It is this, that where an ambiguous question arises betwen two governments, there is, if they cannot agree, no appeal except to force, and that the opinion of the stronger must prevail. Almost every question was ambiguous in India. The English government was the strongest in India. The consequences are

⁶⁵) „consistency“: die Eigenschaft mehrerer Dinge, mit einander im Einklang zu sein. Auf die Handlungen einer Person angewandt, nennen wir diese Eigenschaft „Konsequenz“. ⁶⁶) to be welcome to smth. „freien Zugang zu etwas haben“; to be welcome to do smth., „die Erlaubniss haben etwas zu thun, etwas thun dürfen“. ⁶⁷) *legerdemain* (frz. *léger de main*, Fertigkeit mit der Hand), Taschenspielerkunst, Gaukelei.

obvious. The English government might do exactly what it chose. *R*

15 The English government now chose to wring money out of Cheyte Sing. It had formerly been convenient to treat him as a sovereign prince; it was now convenient to treat him as a subject. Dexterity inferior to that of Hastings could easily find, in the general chaos⁶⁸⁾ of laws and customs, arguments for either course. Hastings wanted a great supply. It was known that Cheyte Sing had a large revenue, and it was suspected that he had accumulated a treasure. Nor was he a favourite at Calcutta. He had, when the Governor-General was in great difficulties, courted the favour of Francis and Clavering. Hastings who, less we believe from evil passions than from policy, seldom left an injury unpunished, was not sorry that the fate of Cheyte Sing should teach neighbouring princes the same lesson which the fate of Nuncomar had already impressed on the inhabitants of Bengal.

In 1778, on the first breaking out of the war with France, Cheyte Sing was called upon to pay, in addition to his fixed tribute, an extraordinary contribution of fifty thousand pounds. In 1779, an equal sum was exacted. In 1780, the demand was renewed. Cheyte Sing, in the hope of obtaining some indulgence, secretly offered the Governor-General a bribe of twenty thousand pounds. Hastings took the money, and his enemies have maintained that he took it intending to keep it. He certainly concealed the transaction, for a time, both from the Council in Bengal and from the Directors at home; nor did he ever give any satisfactory reason for the concealment. Public spirit,⁶⁹⁾ or the fear of detection, however, determined him to withstand the temptation. He paid over the bribe to the Company's treasury, and insisted that the Rajah should instantly comply with the demands of the English government. The Rajah, after the fashion of his countrymen, shuffled⁷⁰⁾, solicited, and pleaded poverty. The grasp of Hastings was not to be so eluded. He added to the requisition another ten thousand pounds as a fine for delay, and sent troops to exact the money.

⁶⁸⁾ chaos, spr. kàos. ⁶⁹⁾ public spirit, Patriotismus; siehe L. Cl. VIII, 40. ⁷⁰⁾ to shuffle (ursprünglich: ohne Ordnung und Regel hierhin und dorthin bewegen), a) unter einander mischen, b) in Unordnung bringen, c) bildlich: den Boden wechseln, einer Frage ausweichen, eine Sache umgehen.

R 16. The money was paid. But this was not enough. The late events in the south of India had increased the financial embarrassments of the Company. Hastings was determined to plunder Cheyte Sing, and, for that end, to fasten a quarrel on him. Accordingly, the Rajah was now required to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the British government. He objected and evaded. This was exactly what the Governor-General wanted. He had now a pretext for treating the wealthiest of his vassals as a criminal. "I resolved" — these are the words of Hastings himself — "to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the Company's distresses, to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for past delinquency." The plan was simply this, to demand larger and larger contributions till the Rajah should be driven to remonstrate, then to call his remonstrance a crime, and to punish him by confiscating all his possessions.

Cheyte Sing was in the greatest dismay. He offered two hundred thousand pounds to propitiate the British government. But Hastings replied that nothing less than half a million would be accepted. Nay, he began to think of selling Benares to Oude, as he had formerly sold Allahabad and Rohilcund*. The matter was one which could not be well managed at a distance; and Hastings resolved to visit Benares.

Cheyte Sing received his liege lord with every mark of reverence, came near sixty miles, with his guards, to meet and escort the illustrious visitor, and expressed his deep concern at the displeasure of the English. He even took off his turban, and laid it in the lap of Hastings, a gesture which in India marks the most profound submission and devotion. Hastings behaved with cold and repulsive severity. Having arrived at Benares, he sent to the Rajah a paper containing the demands of the government of Bengal. The Rajah, in reply, attempted to clear himself from the accusations brought against him. Hastings, who wanted money and not excuses, was not to be put off by the ordinary artifices of Eastern negotiation. He instantly ordered the Rajah to be arrested and placed under the custody of two companies of sepoys.

R In taking these strong measures, Hastings scarcely showed his usual judgment. It is probable that, having had little opportunity of personally observing any part of the population of India, except the Bengalees, he was not fully aware of the difference between their character and that of the tribes

which inhabit the upper provinces. He was now in a land far more favourable to the vigour of the human frame than the Delta of the Ganges; in a land fruitful of soldiers, who have been found worthy to follow English battalions to the charge and into the breach. / The Rajah was popular among his subjects. His administration had been mild; and the prosperity of the district which he governed pretented a striking contrast to the depressed state of Bahar under our rule, and a still more striking contrast to the misery of the provinces which were cursed by the tyranny of the Nabob Vizier. The national and religious prejudices with which the English were regarded throughout India were peculiarly intense in the metropolis of the Brahminical superstition.⁷¹⁾ It can therefore scarcely be doubted that the Governor-General, before he outraged the dignity of Cheyte Sing by an arrest, ought to have assembled a force capable of bearing down all opposition. This had not been done. The handful of sepoy who attended Hastings would probably have been sufficient to overawe Moorshedabad, or the Black Town* of Calcutta. But they were unequal to a conflict with the hardy rabble of Benares. The streets surrounding the 'palace were filled by an immense multitude, of whom a large proportion,⁷²⁾ as is usual in Upper India, wore arms. The tumult became a fight, and the fight a massacre. The English officers defended themselves with desparate courage against overwhelming numbers, and fell, as became them, sword in hand. The sepoy were butchered. The gates were forced. The captive prince, neglected by his jailers during the confusion, discovered an outlet⁷³⁾ which opened on the precipitous bank of the Ganges, let himself down to the water by a string made of the turbans of his attendants, found a boat, and escaped to the opposite shore. *R*

If Hastings had, by indiscreet violence, brought himself into a difficult and perilous situation, it is only just to acknowledge that he extricated himself with even more than

⁷¹⁾ superstition bedeutet: a) die übertrieben ängstliche Religiosität, b) der absurde Glaube, der Aberglaube, c) die falsche Religion, d. h. jede Religion, welche nicht die Bibel zu ihrer Grundlage hat. ⁷²⁾ proportion: a) Verhältniss, b) der in einem gewissen Verhältnisse zum Ganzen stehende Theil; das betr. Verhältniss wird durch ein Adjektiv (hier: large) ausgedrückt. ⁷³⁾ the outlet (zu „to let out“, herauslassen, nach aussen lassen), das Thürchen.

his usual ability and presence of mind. He had only fifty men with him. The building in which he had taken up his residence was on every side blockaded by the insurgents. But his fortitude remained unshaken. The Rajah from the other side of the river sent apologies and liberal⁷⁴⁾ offers. They were not even answered. Some subtle and enterprising men were found who undertook to pass through the throng of enemies, and to convey the intelligence of the late events to the English cantonments. It is the fashion of the natives of India to wear large ear-rings of gold. When they travel, the rings are laid aside, lest the precious metal should tempt some gang of robbers, and, in place of the ring, a quill or a roll of paper is inserted in the orifice⁷⁵⁾ to prevent it from closing. Hastings placed in the ears of his messengers letters rolled up in the smallest compass. Some of these letters were addressed to the commanders of the English troops. One was written to assure his wife of his safety. One was to the envoy whom he had sent to negotiate with the Mahrattas. Instructions for the negotiation were needed; and the Governor-General framed them in that situation of extreme danger, with as much composure as if he had been writing in his palace at Calcutta.

Things, however, were not yet at the worst. An English officer of more spirit than judgment, eager to distinguish himself, made a premature⁷⁶⁾ attack on the insurgents beyond the river. His troops were entangled in narrow streets, and assailed by a furious population. He fell, with many of his men; and the survivors were forced to retire.

R This event produced the effect which has never failed to follow every check,⁷⁷⁾ however slight, sustained in India by the English arms. For hundreds of miles round, the whole country was in commotion. The entire population of the district of Benares took arms. The fields were abandoned

⁷⁴⁾ liberal, „freigebig“ und „freisinnig“; vgl. L. Cl. III, 31.
⁷⁵⁾ orifice (abgel. von „os, oris,“ der Mund, und „facere“ machen)
 a) der Theil eines Hohlraumes, welcher sich, dem Munde vergleichbar, nach aussen öffnet, wie: the orifice of a pipe, of a wound, b) eine Oeffnung überhaupt. ⁷⁶⁾ premature, eigentlich: frühreif; bildlich: vorschnell, übereilt. ⁷⁷⁾ to check, ist ursprünglich auf das Schachspiel zu beziehen und besagt: im Schach halten; the check, ursprünglich und eigentlich das, was im Schach hält, das Hemmniss, bezeichnet weiterhin jede Widerwärtigkeit; hier „Schlappe“.

by the husbandmen,⁷⁸⁾ who thronged to defend their prince. The infection spread to Oude, The oppressed people of that province rose up against the Nabob Vizier, refused to pay their imposts, and put the revenue officers to flight. Even Bahar was ripe for revolt. The hopes of Cheyte Sing began to rise. Instead of imploring mercy in the humble style of a vassal, he began to talk the language of a conqueror, and threatened, it was said, to sweep the white usurpers out of the land. But the English troops were now assembling fast. The officers, and even the private men, regarded the Governor-General with enthusiastic attachment, and flew to his aid with an alacrity which, as he boasted, had never been shown on any other occasion. Major Pópham,⁷⁹⁾ a brave and skilful soldier, who had highly distinguished himself in the Mah-ratta war, and in whom the Governor-General reposed the greatest confidence, took the command. The tūmúltuary army of the Rajah was put to rout.⁸⁰⁾ His fastnesses were stormed. In a few hours, above thirty thousand men left his standard, and returned to their ordinary avocations. The unhappy prince fled from his country for ever. His fair domain was added to the British dominions. One of his relations indeed was appointed rajah; but the Rajah of Benares was henceforth to be, like the Nabob of Bengal, a mere pensioner. / R

By this revolution, an addition of two hundred thousand pounds a year was made to the revenues of the Company. But the immediate relief was not as great as had been expected. The treasure laid up by Cheyte Sing had been popularly estimated at a million sterling. It turned out to be about a fourth part of that sum; and, such as it was, it was seized by the army, and divided as prize-money.⁸¹⁾

Disappointed in his expectations from Benares, Hastings was more violent than he would otherwise have been, in his

⁷⁸⁾ husband bezeichnet ursprünglich „denjenigen, welcher das Haus verwaltet“, und hieraus haben sich die beiden Bedeutungen „Ehemann“ (als Hausherr) und „Verwalter“, Haushalter entwickelt; a husbandman ist speciell derjenige Verwalter seines Grundbesitzes, welcher die Bebauung des Bodens selbst besorgt, der (selbst ackernde) Landmann, der Bauer. ⁷⁹⁾ spr. póp-ham. ⁸⁰⁾ Unterscheide: rout (deutsch: Rotte), die wilde, ungeordnete Menge, und rout (verwandt mit dem lat. ruptus, zerbrochen), die Vernichtung des Heeres, die Niederlage, die wilde Flucht. ⁸¹⁾ Ueber prize-money, Prisengeld, siehe L. Cl. IV, 6.

dealings with Oude. Sujah Dowlah* had long been dead.⁸²⁾ His son and successor, Asaph-ul-Dowlah, was one of the weakest and most vicious even of Eastern princes. His life was divided between torpid repose and the most odious forms of sensuality. In his court there was boundless waste,⁸³⁾ throughout his dominions wretchedness and disorder. He had been, under the skilful management of the English government, gradually sinking from the rank of an independent prince to that of a vassal of the Company. It was only by the help of a British brigade that he could be secure from the aggressions of neighbours who despised his weakness, and from the vengeance of subjects who detested his tyranny. A brigade was furnished; and he engaged to defray the charge⁸⁴⁾ of paying and maintaining it. From that time his independence was at an end. Hastings was not a man to lose the advantage which he had thus gained. The Nabob soon began to complain of the burden which he had undertaken to bear. His revenues, he said, were falling off;⁸⁵⁾ his servants were unpaid; he could no longer support the expense of the arrangement which he had sanctioned. Hastings would not listen to these representations. The Vizier, he said, had invited the Government of Bengal to send him troops, and had promised to pay for them. The troops had been sent. How long the troops were to remain in Oude was a matter not settled by the treaty. It remained, therefore, to be settled between the contracting parties. But the contracting parties differed. Who then must decide? The stronger.

R Hastings also argued that, if the English force was withdrawn, Oude would certainly become a prey to anarchy, and would probably be overrun by a Mahratta army. That the finances of Oude were embarrassed he admitted. But he contended, not without reason, that the embarrassment was to be attributed to the incapacity and vices of Asaph-ul-Dowlah himself, and that, if less were spent on the troops, the only effect would be that more would be squandered on worthless favourites.

⁸²⁾ „to be dead“ ist häufig gleichbedeutend mit „to die“. ⁸³⁾ to waste, „verwüsten“ und „verschwenden“; die entsprechenden Bedeutungen zeigt auch das Substantiv the waste. ⁸⁴⁾ the charge, hier: die Kosten, vgl. I, 25. ⁸⁵⁾ to fall off (oder: to fall), sich vermindern, sinken; vgl. das Wasser fällt, die Aktien fallen.

Hastings had intended, after settling the affairs of Benares, to visit Lücknow,* and there to confer with Asaph-ul-Dowlah. But the obsequious courtesy of the Nabob Vizier prevented this visit. With a small train he hastened to meet the Governor-General. An interview took place in the fortress which, from the crest of the precipitous rock of Chunâr, looks down on the waters of the Ganges.

At first sight it might appear impossible that the negotiation should come to an amicable close. Hastings wanted an extraordinary supply of money. Asaph-ul-Dowlah wanted to obtain a remission of what he already owed. Such a difference seemed to admit of no compromise. There was, however, one course satisfactory to both sides, one course by which it was possible to relieve the finances both of Oude and of Bengal; and that course was adopted. It was simply this, that the Governor-General and the Nabob Vizier should join to rob a third party; and the third party whom they determined to rob was the parent⁸⁶⁾ of one of the robbers.

The mother of the late Nabob, and his wife, who was the mother of the present Nabob, were known as the Bègums or Princesses of Oude. They had possessed great influence over Sujah Dowlah, and had, at his death, been left in possession of a splendid dotation. The domains of which they received the rents and administered the government were of wide extent. The treasure hoarded⁸⁷⁾ by the late Nabob, a treasure which was popularly⁸⁸⁾ estimated at near three millions sterling, was in their hands. They continued to occupy his favourite palace at Fÿzabâd,* the Beautiful Dwelling; while Asaph-ul-Dowlah held his court in the stately Lucknow, which he had built for himself on the shores of the Goomti, and had adorned with noble mosques⁸⁹⁾ and colleges.

Asaph-ul-Dowlah had already extorted considerable sums from his mother. She had at length appealed to the English: and the English had interfered. A solemn compact had been made, by which she consented to give her son some pecuniary assistance, and he in his turn promised never to

⁸⁶⁾ parent kann sowohl den Vater, als auch die Mutter bezeichnen, ist also ein Commune. ⁸⁷⁾ to hoard (verwandt mit Hort, der aufgehäufte Schatz), einen Vorrath aufhäufen. ⁸⁸⁾ popular ist alles das, was das ganze Volk thut, denkt oder hochschätzt; übersetze popularly mit: im Volksmunde. ⁸⁹⁾ mosques, spr. mosks.

commit any further invasion of her rights. This compact was formally guaranteed by the government of Bengal. But times had changed; money was wanted; and the power which had given guarantee was not ashamed to instigate the spoiler to excesses such that even he shrank from them.

It was necessary to find some pretext for a confiscation inconsistent, not merely with plighted faith⁹⁰), not merely with the ordinary rules of humanity and justice, but also with that great law of filial piety which, even in the wildest tribes of savages, even in those more degraded communities which wither under the influence of a corrupt half-civilization, retains a certain authority over the human mind. A pretext was the last thing that Hastings was likely to want. The insurrection at Benares had produced disturbances in Oude. These disturbances it was convenient to impute to the Princesses. Evidence for the imputation there was scarcely any; unless reports wandering from one mouth to another, and gaining something by every transmission, may be called evidence. The accused were furnished with no charge; they were permitted to make no defence;⁹¹) for the Governor-General wisely considered that, if he tried them, he might not be able to find a ground for plundering them. It was agreed between him and the Nabob Vizier that the noble ladies should, by a sweeping measure of confiscation, be stripped of their domains and treasures for the benefit of the Company, and the sums thus obtained should be accepted by the government of Bengal in satisfaction of its claims on the government of Oude.

While Asaph - ul - Dowlah was at Chunar, he was completely subjugated by the clear and commanding intellect of the English statesman. But when they had separated, the Vizier began to reflect with uneasiness on the engagement into which he had entered. His mother and grandmother protested and implored. His heart, deeply corrupted by absolute

⁹⁰) to plight, verwandt dem deutschen „verpflichten“: Bürgschaft geben, verpfänden; to plight one's faith: sein Wort (als Bürgschaft) geben. ⁹¹) they were permitted to make no defence: Die Negation, welche das Prädikat verneinen soll, kann im Englischen zum Objekte gezogen werden. In anderen Sprachen ist dies nur gestattet, wenn die Negation sich mit dem Objekte, in diesem Falle einem indefiniten Pronomen, zu einem Wortkörper verbindet. Vgl. „er besucht niemanden“: das Prädikat besuchen soll verneint werden.

power and licentious pleasures, yet not naturally unfeeling, failed him in this crisis. Even the English resident⁹²⁾ at Lucknow, though hitherto devoted to Hastings, shrank from extreme measures. But the Governor-General was inexorable. He wrote to the resident in terms of the greatest severity, and declared that, if the spoliation which had been agreed upon were not instantly carried into effect, he would himself go to Lucknow, and do that from which feebler minds recoil with dismay. The resident, thus menaced, waited on⁹³⁾ his Highness, and insisted that the treaty of Chunar should be carried into full and immediate effect. Asaph-ul-Dowlah yielded, making at the same time a solemn protestation that he yielded to compulsion. The lands⁹⁴⁾ were resumed; but the treasure was not so easily obtained. It was necessary to use violence. A body of the Company's troops marched to Fyzabad, and forced the gates of the palace. The Princesses were confined to their own apartments. But still they refused to submit. Some more stringent mode of coercion was to be found. A mode was found of which, even at this distance of time, we cannot speak without shame and sorrow.

There were at Fyzabad two ancient men, belonging to that unhappy class which a practice, of immemorial antiquity in the East, has excluded from the pleasures of love and from the hope of posterity. It has always been held in Asiatic courts that beings thus estranged from sympathy⁹⁵⁾ with their kind are those whom princes may most safely trust. Sujah Dowlah had been of this opinion. He had given his entire confidence to the two eunuchs;⁹⁶⁾ and after his death they remained at the head of the household of his widow.

These men were, by the orders of the British government, seized, imprisoned, ironed, starved almost to death, in order to extort money from the Princesses. After they had been two months in confinement, their health gave way. They implored permission to take a little exercise⁹⁷⁾ in the garden

⁹²⁾ resident ist der „minister resident“, der an einem Orte ansässige Geschäftstäger einer Nation. ⁹³⁾ to wait on one „seine Aufwartung machen“; vgl. to call on one ⁹⁴⁾ land, a) Land, im Gegensatze zu Wasser, b) Land oder Gebiet einer Nation; es hebt im Gegensatze zu „country“ die politische Einheit des Gebietes hervor, c) Grundbesitz; „lands“, Ländereien. ⁹⁵⁾ sympathy: hier nicht Mitgefühl, sondern: gleiche Empfindung. ⁹⁶⁾ spr. ünücks. ⁹⁷⁾ to take a little exercise, „sich ein wenig ergehen“.

of their prison. The officer who was in charge of them stated that, if they were allowed this indulgence, there was not the smallest chance⁹⁸⁾ of their escaping, and that their irons really added nothing to the security of the custody in which they were kept. He did not understand the plan of his superiors. Their object in these inflictions was not security but torture; and all mitigation was refused. Yet this was not the worst. It was resolved by an English government that these two infirm old men should be delivered to the tormentors⁹⁹⁾. For that purpose they were removed to Lucknow. What horrors their dungeon there witnessed can only be guessed. But there remains on the records of Parliament, this letter, written by a British resident to a British soldier.

“Sir, the Nabob having determined to inflict corporal punishment upon the prisoners under your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall see proper.”

While these barbarities were perpetrated at Lucknow, the Princesses were still under *dùresse*¹⁰⁰⁾ at Fyzabad. Food was allowed to enter their apartments only in such scanty quantities that their female attendants were in danger of perishing with hunger. Month after month this cruelty continued, till at length, after twelve hundred thousand pounds had been wrung out of the Princesses, Hastings began to think that he had really got to the bottom of their revenue, and that no rigour could extort more. Then at length the wretched men who were detained at Lucknow regained their liberty. When their irons were knocked off, and the doors of their prison opened, their quivering lips, the tears which ran down their cheeks, and the thanksgivings which they poured forth to the common Father of Mussulmans and Christians, melted even the stout hearts of the English warriors who stood by.

But we must not forget to do justice to Sir Elijah Impey's conduct on this occasion. It was not indeed easy for him to intrude himself into a business so entirely alien

⁹⁸⁾ a chance ist das, was möglicher Weise eintreten kann, eine Möglichkeit (lat. „cadentia“, das zufällige Eintreffen, der Zufall; vom Verbum „cadere“). ⁹⁹⁾ tormentors, „Peiniger“, bezeichnet hier diejenigen, welche mit der Anwendung der Folter beauftragt sind. ¹⁰⁰⁾ duresse (frz. „duresse“, Härte, herbe Behandlung), Gewahrsam, Haft. Man schreibt das Wort auch „duress“.

from all his official duties. But there was something inexpressibly alluring, we must suppose, in the peculiar rankness of the infamy¹⁰¹⁾ which was then to be got at Lucknow. He hurried thither as fast as relays¹⁰²⁾ of palanquin-bearers could carry him. A crowd of people came before him with affidavits¹⁰³⁾ against the Begums, ready drawn in their hands. Those affidavits he did not read. Some of them, indeed, he could not read; for they were in the dialects of Northern India, and no interpreter was employed. He administered the oath to the deponents,¹⁰⁴⁾ with all possible expedition, and asked not a single question, not even whether they had perused the statements to which they swore. This work performed, he got again into his palanquin, and posted back to Calcutta, to be in time¹⁰⁵⁾ for the opening of term.¹⁰⁶⁾ The cause was one which, by his own confession, lay altogether out of his jurisdiction. Under the charter of justice,¹⁰⁷⁾ he had no more right to inquire into crimes committed by natives in Oude than the Lord President of the Court of Session* of Scotland to hold an assize at Exeter.* He had no right to try the Begums, nor did he pretend to try them. With what object, then, did he undertake so long a journey? Evidently in order that he might give, in an irregular manner, that sanction which in a regular manner he could not give, to the crimes of those who had recently hired him; and in order that a confused mass of testimony which he did not sift, which he did not even read, might acquire an authority not properly belonging to it, from the signature of the highest judicial functionary in India.

The time was approaching, however, when he was to be stripped of that robe which has never, since the Revolution, been disgraced so foully as by him. The state of India had

¹⁰¹⁾ rankness, (abgeleitet von rank, üppig): die Ueppigkeit, Fruchtbarkeit, und bildlich: der ausserordentliche Grad einer Eigenschaft; the peculiar rankness of infamy: „die ganz besondere Fülle von Gemeinheit. ¹⁰²⁾ a relay (zu „relaxare“), ein frisches Vorspann, welches das ermüdete abzulösen hat; hier auf die Träger angewandt. ¹⁰³⁾ an affidavit (wörtlich: „er versicherte eidlich“, zu „affidare“): eine eidliche Versicherung. ¹⁰⁴⁾ a deponent, „einer, der etwas (hier: eine Aussage) niederlegt“, ein Zeuge. Vgl. V, 13. ¹⁰⁵⁾ in time, zu rechter Zeit. ¹⁰⁶⁾ term, „Zeit der Sitzung eines Gerichtshofes, Sitzungsperiode“. Es giebt vier solcher „terms“, deren Anfang und Ende gesetzlich normirt sind. ¹⁰⁷⁾ the charter of justice, „die Justizakte“, ist das Gesetz, welches die Verwaltung der Justiz regelt.

for some time occupied much of the attention of the British Parliament. Towards the close of the American war, two committees of the Commons sat on Eastern affairs. In one Edmund Burke* took the lead. The other was under the presidency of the able and versatile Henry Dundas, then Lord Advocate* of Scotland. Great as are the changes which, during the last sixty years, have taken place in our Asiatic dominions, the reports which those committees laid on the table of the House will still be found most interesting and instructive.

There was as yet no connexion between the Company and either of the great parties in the state. The ministers had no motive to defend Indian abuses. On the contrary, it was for their interest to show, if possible, that the government and patronage of our Oriental empire might, with advantage, be transferred to themselves. The votes therefore, which, in consequence of the reports made by the two committees, were passed¹⁰⁸) by the Commons, breathed the spirit of stern and indignant justice. The severest epithets were applied to several of the measures of Hastings, especially to the Rohilla war; and it was resolved, on the motion¹⁰⁹) of Mr. Dundas, that the Company ought to recall a Governor-General who had brought such calamities on the Indian people, and such dishonour on the British name. An act was passed for limiting the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The bargain which Hastings had made with the Chief Justice was condemned in the strongest terms; and an address was presented to the King, praying that Impey might be ordered home to answer for his misdeeds.

Impey was recalled by a letter from the Secretary of State.* But the proprietors of India Stock resolutely refused to dismiss Hastings from their service, and passed a resolution affirming, what was undeniably true, that they were intrusted by law with the right of naming and removing their Governor-General, and that they were not bound to obey the directions of a single branch of the legislature with respect to such nomination or removal.

Thus supported by his employers, Hastings remained at the head of the government of Bengal till the spring of 1785. His administration, so eventful and stormy, closed in almost

¹⁰⁸) Ueber „to pass“ siehe L. Cl. V, 64. — „Ein Votum durchbringen“. ¹⁰⁹) motion: siehe L. Cl. VIII, 28.

perfect quiet. In the Council there was no regular opposition to his measures. Peace was restored to India. The Mahratta war had ceased. Hyder was no more. A treaty had been concluded with his son, Tippōo;* and the Carnatic had been evacuated by the armies of Mysore. Since the termination of the American war, England had no European enemy or rival in the Eastern seas. H

VII.

**Gesammturtheil Macaulay's über
Warren Hastings.**

On a general review of the long administration of Hastings, it is impossible to deny that, against the great crimes by which it is blemished, we have to set off great public services. England had passed through a perilous crisis. She still, indeed, maintained her place in the foremost rank of European powers; and the manner in which she had defended herself against fearful odds had inspired surrounding nations with a high opinion both of her spirit and of her strength. Nevertheless, in every part of the world, except one, she had been a loser. Not only had she been compelled to acknowledge the independence of thirteen colonies peopled by her children, and to conciliate the Irish* by giving up the right of legislating for them; but, in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Africa, on the continent of America, she had been compelled to cede the fruits of her victories in former wars. Spain regained Minórca* and Flórída; France regained Sēnēgál, Gorée, and several West Indian Islands. The only quarter of the world in which Britain had lost nothing was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of the utmost exertions both of European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our country in the East had been greatly augmented. Benares was subjected; the Nabob Vizier reduced to vassalage. That our influence had been thus extented, nay, that Fort William and Fort St. George had not been occu-

pied by hostile armies, was owing,¹⁾ if we may trust the general voice of the English in India, to the skill and resolution of Hastings.

His internal administration, with all its blemishes, gives him a title to be considered as one of the most remarkable men in our history. He dissolved the double government. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a frightful anarchy, he educed²⁾ at least a rude and imperfect order. The whole organization by which justice was dispensed, revenue³⁾ collected, peace maintained throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions of Louis the Sixteenth* or of the Emperor Joseph,* was formed and superintended by him. He boasted that every public office, without exception, which existed when he left Bengal, was his creation. It is quite true that this system, after all the improvements suggested by the experience of sixty years, still needs improvement, and that it was at first far more defective than it now is. But who ever seriously considers what it is to construct from the beginning the whole of a machine⁴⁾ so vast and complex as a government will allow that what Hastings effected deserves high admiration. To compare the most celebrated European ministers to him seems to us as unjust as it would be to compare the best baker in London with Robinson Crusoe, who, before he could bake a single loaf, had to make his plough and his harrow, his fences and his scarecrows,⁵⁾ his sickle and his flail, his mill and his oven.

The just fame of Hastings rises still higher, when we reflect that he was not bred a statesman; that he was sent from school to a counting-house; and that he was employed during the prime of his manhood as a commercial agent, far from all intellectual society.

Nor must we forget that all, or almost all, to whom, when placed at the head of affairs, he could apply for as-

¹⁾ „was owing to:“ steht für „was being owed to“. ²⁾ to educe (educere), herausführen, herausgestalten. ³⁾ revenue (das Einkommene), hier: die Steuer. ⁴⁾ the whole of a machine: Will man die Einheit einer Totalität besonders hervorheben, so wendet man das „Substantiv“ whole an. Vgl. vorher: the whole organization, der ganze „Umfang“ der Organisation. ⁵⁾ scarecrows (Krähenvertreiber), Vogelscheuchen.

sistance, were persons who owed as little as himself, or less than himself, to education. A minister in Europe finds himself on the first day on which he commences his functions, surrounded by experienced public servants, the depositaries⁶⁾ of official traditions. Hastings had no such help. His own reflection, his own energy, were to supply the place of all Downing Street* and Somerset House.* Having had no facilities for learning, he was forced to teach. He had first to form himself, and then to form his instruments; and this not in a single department, but in all the departments of the administration.

It must be added that, while engaged in this most arduous task, he was constantly trammelled⁷⁾ by orders from home, and frequently borne down by a majority in council. The preservation of an Empire from a formidable combination of foreign enemies, the construction of a government in all its parts, were accomplished by him, while every ship brought out bales of censure from his employers, and while the records of every consultation were filled with acrimonious minutes by his colleagues. We believe that there never was a public man⁸⁾ whose temper was so severely tried; not Marlborough,* when thwarted by the Dutch Deputies; not Wellington, when he had to deal at once with the Portuguese Regency,* the Spanish Juntas,* and Mr. Percival.* But the temper of Hastings was equal to almost any trial. It was not sweet; but it was calm. Quick and vigorous as his intellect was, the patience with which he endured the most cruel vexations, till a remedy could be found, resembled the patience of stupidity. He seems to have been capable of resentment, bitter and long-enduring; yet his resentment so seldom hurried him into any blunder that it may be doubted whether what appeared to be revenge was any thing but policy.

The effect of this singular equanimity was that he always had the full command of all the resources of one of the most fertile minds that ever existed. Accordingly no compli-

⁶⁾ depositary ist derjenige, bei dem etwas niedergelegt ist, hier „Träger“; vgl. VI, 104. ⁷⁾ the trammel (frz. „tramail“, Netz zum Fischen), a) Fischnetz, b) Fesseln, die zum Dressiren der Pferde verwandt werden, c) Fesseln überhaupt; to trammel daher: „fesseln, beengen“. ⁸⁾ a public man, ein Politiker; vgl. L. Cl. VIII, 40.

cation of perils and embarrassments could perplex him. For every difficulty he had a contrivance ready; and, whatever may be thought of the justice and humanity of some of his contrivances, it is certain that they seldom failed to serve the purpose for which they were designed.

Together with this extraordinary talent for devising expedients,⁹⁾ Hastings possessed, in a very high degree, another talent scarcely less necessary to a man in his situation; we mean the talent for conducting political controversy. It is as necessary to an English statesman in the East that he should be able to write, as it is to a minister in this country that he should be able to speak. It is chiefly by the óratory¹⁰⁾ of a public man here that the nation judges of his powers. It is from the letters and reports of a public man in India that the dispensers of patronage form their estimate of him. In each case, the talent which receives peculiar encouragement is developed, perhaps at the expense of the other powers. In this country, we sometimes hear men speak above their abilities. It is not very unusual to find gentlemen in the Indian service who write above their abilities. The English politician is a little too much of a debater; the Indian politician a little too much of an essayist.¹¹⁾

Of the numerous servants of the Company who have distinguished themselves as framers of minutes and despatches, Hastings stands at the head. He was indeed the person who gave to the official writing of the Indian governments the character which it still retains. He was matched¹²⁾ against no common antagonist. But even Francis was forced to acknowledge, with sullen and resentful candour, that there was no contending against the pen of Hastings. And, in truth, the Governor-General's power of making out¹³⁾ a case, of perplexing what it was inconvenient that people should understand, and of setting in the clearest point of view whatever would bear the light, was incomparable. His style must be praised with some reservation. It was in general forcible, pure, and polished; but it was sometimes, though not often,

⁹⁾ an expedient (abgeleitet von „expedire“, ein Hinderniss vor den Füßen forträumen), ein Auskunftsmittel. ¹⁰⁾ oratory, a) Beredtsamkeit, b) Betsaal (lat. „orare“, bitten, beten). ¹¹⁾ an essay (frz. „essai“, Versuch) ist eine kritische Abhandlung über ein Thema; an essayist, daher ein Schriftsteller, welcher „essays“ verfasst. ¹²⁾ to be matched, vgl. L. Cl. I, 49 und V, 27. ¹³⁾ to make out, „erklärend darstellen, erläutern“.

turgid, and, on one or two occasions, even bombastic. Perhaps the fondness of Hastings for Persian literature may have tended to corrupt his taste.

And, since we have referred to his literary tastes, it would be most unjust not to praise the judicious encouragement which, as a ruler, he gave to liberal studies and curious¹⁴⁾ researches. His patronage, was extended, with prudent generosity, to voyages, travels experiments, publications. He did little, it is true, towards¹⁵⁾ introducing into India the learning of the West. To make the young natives of Bengal familiar with Milton* and Adam Smith*, to substitute the geography, astronomy, and surgery of Europe for the dotages¹⁶⁾ of the Brahminical superstition, or for the imperfect science of ancient Greece transfused through Arabian expositions, this was a scheme reserved to crown the bēnéficent administration of a far more virtuous ruler. Still, it is impossible to refuse high commendation to a man who, taken from a ledger to govern an empire, overwhelmed by public business, surrounded by people as busy as himself, and separated by thousands of leagues¹⁷⁾ from almost all literary society, gave, both by his example and by his munificence, a great impulse to learning. In Persian and Arabic literature he was deeply skilled. With the Sanscrit he was not himself acquainted; but those who first brought that language to the knowledge of European students owed much to his encouragement. It was under his protection that the Asiatic Society commenced its honourable career. That distinguished body selected him to be its first president; but, with excellent taste and feeling, he declined the honour in favour of Sir William Jones.* But the chief advantage which the students of Oriental letters derived from his patronage remains to be mentioned. The Púndits¹⁸⁾ of Bengal* had always looked with great jealousy

¹⁴⁾ curious, zu dem lat. „cura“, Sorge, „sorgfältig“ und „wissbegierig“; daneben „seltsam“. ¹⁵⁾ towards, „nach einer Richtung hin“, bildlich „nach einem Ziele hin, zu dem Zwecke“. ¹⁶⁾ dotage (zu „to dote“, närrisch verliebt sein): die Narrheit, an der jemand mit kindischer Beschränktheit festhält. ¹⁷⁾ a league (frz. lieue) ist ursprünglich ein Stein, welcher auf öffentlichen Wegen zur Bezeichnung der Entfernung angebracht ist. Ein solcher findet sich im Abstände von je 3 englischen Meilen. Jetzt versteht man unter diesem Worte allgemein die Entfernung (von 3 engl. Meilen) selbst. ¹⁸⁾ a pundit, ein gelehrter Brahmine, d. h. ein solcher, der in der Sprache der alten heiligen Bücher, also im Sanskrit, bewandert ist.

on the attempts of foreigners to pry into those mysteries which were locked up in the sacred dialect. Their religion had been persecuted by the Mahommedans. What they knew of the spirit of the Portuguese government might warrant them in apprehending persecution from Christians. That apprehension, the wisdom and moderation of Hastings removed. He was the first foreign ruler who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the hereditary priests of India, and who induced them to lay open to English scholars the secrets of the old Brahminical theology and jurisprudence.

It is indeed impossible to deny that, in the great art of inspiring large masses of human beings with confidence and attachment, no ruler ever surpassed Hastings. If he had made himself popular with the English by giving up the Bengalese to extortion und oppression, or if, on the other hand, he had conciliated the Bengalese¹⁹⁾ and alienated the English, there would have been no cause for wonder. What is peculiar to him is that, being the chief of a small band of strangers who exercised boundless power over a great indigēnous population, he made himself beloved both by the subject many and by the dominant few. The affection felt for him by the civil service was singularly ardent and constant. Through all his disasters and perils, his brethren stood by him with steadfast loyalty. The army, at the same time, loved him as armies have seldom loved any but the greatest chiefs who have led them to victory. Even in his disputes with distinguished military men, he could always count on the support of the military profession. While such was his empire over the hearts of his countrymen, he enjoyed among the natives a popularity, such as other governors have perhaps better merited, but such as no other governor has been able to attain. He spoke their vernacular dialects with facility and precision. He was intimately acquainted with their feelings and usages. On one or two occasions, for great ends, he deliberately acted in defiance of their opinion; but on such occasions he gained more in their respect than he lost in their love. In general, he carefully avoided all that could shock their national or religious prejudices. His administration was

¹⁹⁾ the Bengalee bedeutet bei Macaulay „der Bengale“ und „das Bengalische“ (die bengalische Sprache); in ersterer Bedeutung verwendet er auch das Wort Bengalese, mit gleicher Form für den Singular und Plural.

indeed in many respects faulty; but the Bengalee standard of good government was not high. Under the Nabobs, the hurricane of Mahratta cavalry had passed annually over the rich alluvial plain.²⁰⁾ But even the Mahratta shrank from a conflict with the mighty children of the sea; and the immense rice - harvests of the Lower Ganges were safely gathered in, under the protection of the English sword. The first English conquerors had been more rapacious and merciless even than the Mahrattas; but that generation had passed away. Defective as was the police, heavy as were the public burdens, it is probable that the oldest man in Bengal could not recollect a season of equal security and prosperity. For the first time within living memory,²¹⁾ the province was placed under a government strong enough to prevent others from robbing, and not inclined to play the robber itself. These things inspired good-will. At the same time, the constant success of Hastings and the manner in which he extricated himself from every difficulty made him an object of superstitious admiration; and the more than regal splendour which he sometimes displayed dazzled a people who have much in common with children. Even now, after the lapse of more than fifty years, the natives of India still talk of him as the greatest of the English; and nurses sing children to sleep with a jingling²²⁾ ballad about the fleet horses and richly caparisoned elephants of Sahib* Warren Hostein.

The gravest offences of which Hastings was guilty did not affect his popularity with the people of Bengal; for those offences were committed against neighbouring states. Those offences, as our readers must have perceived, we are not disposed to vindicate; yet, in order that the censure may be justly apportioned to the transgression, it is fit that the motive of the criminal should be taken into consideration. The motive which prompted the worst acts of Hastings was misdirected and ill-regulated public spirit. The rules of justice, the sentiments of humanity, the plighted faith of treaties, were in his view as nothing, when opposed to the immediate

²⁰⁾ alluvial plains sind die durch Ablagerungen aus dem Wasser gebildeten Ebenen. ²¹⁾ within living memory, „innerhalb der Erinnerung der Lebenden“, seit Menschengedenken. ²²⁾ jingle, ein onomatopoetisches Wort, „Geklingel, Gerappel“; a jingling ballad: ein Liedchen, zu dem mit der Klapper gerasselt wird.

interest of the state. This is no justification, according to the principles either of morality, or of what we believe to be identical with morality, namely, far-sighted policy. Nevertheless the common sense of mankind, which in questions of this sort seldom goes far wrong, will always recognise a distinction between crimes which originate in an inordinate zeal for the commonwealth, and crimes which originate in selfish cupidity. To the benefit of this distinction Hastings is fairly entitled. There is, we conceive, no reason to suspect that the Rohilla war, the revolution of Benares, or the spoliation of the Princesses of Oude, added a rūpée to his fortune. We will not affirm that, in all pecuniary dealings, he showed that punctilious integrity, that dread of the faintest appearance of evil, which is now the glory of the Indian civil service. But when the school in which he had been trained and the temptations to which he was exposed are considered, we are more inclined to praise him for his general uprightness with respect to money, than rigidly to blame him for a few transactions which would now be called indelicate and irregular, but which even now would hardly be designated as corrupt. A rapacious man he certainly was not. Had he been so, he would infallibly have returned to his country the richest subject in Europe. We speak within compass,²³⁾ when we say that, without applying any extraordinary pressure, he might easily have obtained from the zẽmindárs²⁴⁾ of the Company's provinces and from neighbouring princes, in the course of thirteen years, more than three millions sterling, and might have outshone the splendour of Carlton House* and of the *Palais Royal*.* He brought home a fortune such as a Governor-General, fond of state, and careless of thrift, might easily, during so long a tẽnure of office, save out of his legal salary. Mrs. Hastings, we are afraid, was less scrupulous. It was generally believed that she accepted presents with great alacrity, and that she thus formed, without the connivance of her husband, a private hoard amounting to several lacs of rupees.

The influence of Mrs. Hastings over her husband was indeed such that she might easily have obtained much larger

²³⁾ compass: der Umfang, die Grenzen, speciell: massvolle Grenzen; „within compass“, innerhalb massvoller Grenzen, mit Mässigung. ²⁴⁾ zemindar, wörtlich: „Landhalter“, bezeichnet einen Oberpächter der Kompagnie, der wieder an Unterpächter vermiethet. Im Reiche des Grossmogul bezeichnete „zemindar“ den Grosspächter einer ganzen Provinz.

sums than she was ever accused of receiving. At length her health began to give way; and the Governor-General, much against his will, was compelled to send her to England. He seems to have loved her with that love which is peculiar to men of strong minds, to men whose affection is not easily won or widely diffused. The talk of Calcutta ran for some time on the luxurious manner in which he fitted up the round-house²⁵⁾ of an Indiaman for her accomodation, on the profusion of sandal-wood and carved ivory which adorned her cabin, and on the thousands of rupees which had been expended in order to procure for her the society of an agreeable female companion during the voyage. We may remark here that the letters of Hastings to his wife are exceedingly characteristic. They are tender, and full of indications of esteem and confidence; but, at the same time, a little more ceremonious than is usual in so intimate a relation. The solemn courtesy with which he compliments "his elegant Mārián" reminds us now and then of the dignified air with which Charles Grandison* bowed over Miss Byron's hand in the cedar parlour.

VIII.

Warren Hastings in England. Seine Stellung gegenüber den politischen Parteien und der Krone.

[1785—1786.]

After some months Hastings prepared to follow his wife to England. When it was announced that he was about to quit his office, the feeling of the society which he had so long governed manifested itself by many signs. Addresses poured in from Europeans and Asiatics, from civil functionaries, soldiers, and traders. On the day on which he delivered up the keys of office, a crowd of friends and admirers formed a

²⁵⁾ „the round-house“ eines Kauffahrteischiffes ist der Wohnraum unter dem Hinterdeck desselben.

lane to the quay¹⁾ where he embarked. Several barges escorted him far down the river; and some attached friends refused to quit him till the low coast of Bengal was fading from the view, and till the pilot was leaving the ship.

Of his voyage little is known, except that he amused himself with books and with his pen; and that, among the compositions by which he beguiled the tediousness of that long leisure, was a pleasing imitation of Horace's *Otium Divos rogat*.* This little poem was inscribed²⁾ to Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, a man of whose integrity, humanity, and honour, it is impossible to speak too highly; but who, like some other excellent members of the civil service, extended to the conduct of his friend Hastings an indulgence of which his own conduct never stood in need.

The voyage was, for those times, very speedy. Hastings was little more than four months on the sea. In June, 1785, he landed at Plymouth,* posted to London, appeared at Court, paid his respects³⁾ in Leadenhall Street, and then retired with his wife to Cheltenham*.

He was greatly pleased with his reception. The King treated him with marked distinction. The Queen, who had already incurred much censure on account of the favour which, in spite of the ordinary severity of her virtue, she had shown to the „elegant Marian,” was not less gracious to Hastings. The Directors received him in a solemn sitting; and their chairman read to him a vote of thanks which they had passed without one dissentient voice. “I find myself,” said Hastings, in a letter written about a quarter of a year after his arrival in England, “I find myself every where, and universally, treated with evidences, apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good opinion of my country.”

The confident and exulting tone of his correspondence about this time is the more remarkable, because he had already received ample notice of the attack which was in preparation. Within a week after he landed at Plymouth, Burke gave notice in the House of Commons of a motion seriously affecting a gentleman lately returned from India. The session,

¹⁾ quay (frz. quai), spr. kē. ²⁾ to inscribe, „hineinschreiben, eine Aufschrift machen“, und „widmen, dediciren“. ³⁾ to pay one's respects to, „seine schuldige Achtung an den Tag legen, indem man seine Aufwartung macht“.

however, was then so far advanced, that it was impossible to enter on so extensive and important a subject.

Hastings, it is clear, was not sensible of the danger of his position. Indeed that sagacity, that judgment, that readiness in devising expedients, which had distinguished him in the East, seemed now to have forsaken him; not that his abilities were at all impaired; not that he was not still the same man who had triumphed over Francis and Nuncomar, who had made the Chief Justice and the Nabob Vizier his tools, who had deposed Cheyte Sing, and repelled Hyder Ali. But an oak, as Mr. Grattan* finely said, should not be transplanted at fifty. A man who, having left England when a boy, returns to it after thirty or forty years passed in India, will find, be his talents what they may, that he has much both to learn and to unlearn before he can take a place among English statesmen. The working of a representative system, the war of parties, the arts of debate, the influence of the press, are startling novelties to him. Surrounded on every side by new machines and new tactics, he is as much bewildered as Hannibal would have been at Waterloo, or Thēmístocles at Trafálgar. His very acuteness deludes him. His very vigour causes him to stumble. The more correct his maxims, when applied to the state of society to which he is accustomed, the more certain they are to lead him astray. This was strikingly the case with Hastings. In India he had a bad hand; but he was master of the game, and he won every stake.⁴⁾ In England he held excellent cards, if he had known how to play them; and, it was chiefly by his own errors that he was brought to the verge of ruin.

Of all his errors the most serious was perhaps the choice of a champion. Clive, in similar circumstances, had made a singularly happy selection. He put himself into the hands of Wedderburn,* afterwards Lord Loughborough,⁵⁾ one of the few great advocates who have also been great in the House of Commons. To the defence of Clive, therefore, nothing was wanting, neither learning nor knowledge of the world, neither forensic⁶⁾ acuteness nor that eloquence which

⁴⁾ won every stake, „gewann den Preis bei jedem Spiele“; vgl. V, 51. ⁵⁾ spr. lúfburrō. ⁶⁾ forensic, „auf das Forum bezüglich“ d. i. auf den Platz, wo Recht gesprochen wird; hier ist das Adjektiv „forensic“ am besten wiederzugeben durch den Genitiv: „des Vertheidigers“.

charms political assemblies. Hastings intrusted his interests to a very different person, a major in the Bengal army, named Scott. This gentleman had been sent over from India some time before as the agent of the Governor-General. It was rumoured that his services were rewarded with Oriental munificence; and we believe that he received much more than Hastings could conveniently spare. The Major obtained a seat in Parliament, and was there regarded as the organ of his employer. It was evidently impossible that a gentleman so situated could speak with the authority which belongs to an independent position. Nor had the agent of Hastings the talents necessary for obtaining the ear of an assembly which, accustomed to listen to great orators, had naturally become fastidious. He was always on his legs; he was very tedious; and he had only one topic,⁷⁾ the merits and wrongs of Hastings. Every body who knows the House of Commons will easily guess what followed. The Major was soon considered as the greatest bore⁸⁾ of his time. His exertions were not confined to Parliament. There was hardly a day on which the newspapers did not contain some puff⁹⁾ upon Hastings signed *Asiaticus* or *Bengalensis*, but known to be written by the indēfātigable Scott; and hardly a month in which some bulky pamphlet on the same subject, and from the same pen, did not pass to the trunk-makers¹⁰⁾ and the pastry-cooks. We will give a single specimen of his temper and judgment. He designated the greatest man then living as "that reptile¹¹⁾ Mr. Burke*."

In spite, however, of this unfortunate choice, the general aspect of affairs was favourable to Hastings. The King was on his side. The Company and its servants were zealous in his cause. Among public men he had many ardent friends.

⁷⁾ „topic“ bezeichnet das Thema, über welches oft und viel gesprochen wird, den „Gemeinplatz“. ⁸⁾ a bore, verwandt mit „to bore“, mit einem Bohrer arbeiten, bezeichnet einen Menschen, dessen Denken und Reden sich wieder und immer wieder um denselben Gegenstand dreht (wie der Bohrer sich immer um seine unbewegliche Achse dreht), der eben deshalb ein unausstehlicher Mensch ist. ⁹⁾ a puff (deutsch „Puff“): ein plötzlicher Windstoss, und bildlich: „eine übertriebene Lobeserhebung“. ¹⁰⁾ a trunk, eine mit Leder überzogene Kiste zum Aufbewahren von Kleidungsstücken. Die Pamphlete wurden also als Maculatur zum Auskleben solcher Kisten verwandt. ¹¹⁾ reptile, als Substantiv: „Reptil“, als Adjectiv: „kriechend, gemein“.

Such were Lord Mansfield, who had outlived the vigour of his body, but not that of his mind; and Lord Lansdowne,* who, though unconnected with any party, retained the importance which belongs to great talents and knowledge. The ministers were generally believed to be favourable to the late Governor-General. They owed their power to the clamour which had been raised against Mr. Fox's East India Bill.* The authors of that bill, when accused of invading vested rights,¹²⁾ and of setting up powers unknown to the constitution, had defended themselves by pointing to the crimes of Hastings, and by arguing that abuses so extraordinary justified extraordinary measures. Those who, by opposing that bill, had inised themselves to the head of affairs, would naturally be inclined to extenuate the evils which had been made the plea for administering so violent a remedy; and such, in fact, was their general disposition. The Lord Chancellor Thúrlōw*, in particular, whose great place and force of intellect gave him a weight in the government inferior only to that of Mr. Pitt, espoused the cause of Hastings with indecorous violence. Mr. Pitt, though he had censured many parts of the Indian system, had studiously abstained from saying a word against the late chief of the Indian government. To Major Scott, indeed, the young minister had in private extolled Hastings as a great, a wonderful man, who had the highest claims on the government. There was only one objection to granting all that so eminent a servant of the public could ask. The resolution of censure still remained on the Journals of the House of Commons. That resolution was, indeed, unjust; but, till it was rescinded, could the minister advise the King to bestow any mark of approbation on the person censured? If Major Scott is to be trusted, Mr. Pitt declared that this was the only reason which prevented the government from conferring a peerage on the late Governor-General. Mr. Dundas was the only important member of the administration who was deeply committed to¹³⁾ a different view of the subject. He had moved the resolutions which created the difficulty; but even from him little was to be apprehended. Since he presided over the committee on Eastern affairs, great changes had

¹²⁾ to vest, „bekleiden“, bedeutet in der Rechtssprache „ein Besitzrecht ertheilen“; vested rights sind also rechtlich begründete Ansprüche oder Privilegien. ¹³⁾ to commit to, hier „veranlassen zu, verpflichten zu“; vgl. auch V, 28.

taken place. He was surrounded by new allies; he had fixed his hopes on new objects; and whatever may have been his good qualities, — and he had many, — flattery itself never reckoned rigid consistency in the number.

From the ministry, therefore, Hastings had every reason to expect support; and the ministry was very powerful. The Opposition was loud and vehement against him. But the Opposition, though formidable from the wealth and influence of some of its members, and from the admirable talents and eloquence of others, was outnumbered in parliament, and odious throughout the country. Nor, as far as we can judge, was the Opposition generally desirous to engage in so serious an undertaking as the impeachment¹⁴⁾ of an Indian Governor. Such an impeachment must last for years. It must impose on the chiefs of the party an immense load of labour. Yet it could scarcely, in any manner, affect the event of the great political game.¹⁵⁾ The followers of the coalition were therefore more inclined to revile Hastings than to prosecute him. They lost no opportunity of coupling his name with the names of the most hateful tyrants of whom history makes mention. The wits of Brooks's¹⁶⁾ aimed their keenest sarcasms both at his public and at his domestic life. Some fine diamonds which he had presented, as it was rumoured, to the royal family, and a certain richly carved ivory bed which the Queen had done him the honour to accept from him, were favourite subjects of ridicule. One lively poet proposed that the great acts of the fair Marian's present husband should be immortalized by the pencil of his predecessor; and that Imhoff should be employed to embellish the House of Commons with paintings of the bleeding Rohillas, of Nuncomar swinging, of Cheyte

¹⁴⁾ to impeach (frz. empêcher): einen höheren Beamten wegen schlechter Amtsführung öffentlich anklagen. ¹⁵⁾ the great political game: das grosse Spiel der politischen Parteien ist gemeint, in welchem jede Partei sich bemüht, ans Ruder zu kommen. ¹⁶⁾ The wits of Brooks's: Das Zeichen des sächsischen Genitiv an einem Worte, welches bereits in einem durch die Präposition „of“ bezeichneten Genitivverhältnisse stand, bezeichnete ursprünglich ein Partitivverhältniss. Der heutige Sprachgebrauch zeigt die Neigung, bei einem Substantiv, das eine Person vorführt, zu der Genitivpräposition als Ausdruck des subjektiven oder possessiven Genitiv noch das Zeichen des sächsischen Genitiv pleonastisch hinzuzufügen. Vgl. z. B. „the fortune of my sister's.“

Sing letting himself down to the Ganges. Another, in an exquisitely humorous parody of Virgil's third eclogue,¹⁷⁾ propounded¹⁸⁾ the question what that mineral could be of which the rays had power to make the most austere of princesses the friend of a wanton. A third described, with gay malevolence, the gorgeous appearance of Mrs. Hastings at St. James's, the galaxy¹⁹⁾ of jewels torn from Indian Begums, which adorned her head-dress, her necklace gleaming with future votes,²⁰⁾ and the depending questions that shone upon her ears. Satirical attacks of this description, and perhaps a motion for a vote of censure, would have satisfied the great body of the Opposition. But there were two men whose indignation was not to be so appeased, Philip Francis and Edmund Burke.

Francis had recently entered the House of Commons, and had already established a character there for industry and talent. He laboured indeed under one most unfortunate defect, want of fluency. But he occasionally expressed himself with a dignity and energy worthy of the greatest orators. Before he had been many days in parliament, he incurred the bitter dislike of Pitt, who constantly treated him with as much asperity as the laws of debate would allow. Neither lapse of years nor change of scene had mitigated the enmities which Francis had brought back from the East. After his usual fashion, he mistook his malevolence for virtue, nursed it, as preachers tell us that we ought to nurse our good dispositions, and paraded it, on all occasions, with Pharisaical ostentation.

The zeal of Burke was still fiercer; but it was far purer. Men unable to understand the elevation of his mind have tried to find out some discreditable motive for the vehemence and pertinacity which he showed on this occasion. But they have altogether failed. The idle story that he had some private slight²¹⁾ to revenge has long been given up, even by the advocates of Hastings. Mr. Gleig supposes that Burke was actuated by party spirit, that he retained a bitter remem-

¹⁷⁾ eclogue, spr. *éclog*, Hirtengedicht. - ¹⁸⁾ to propound, lat. *proponere*, „zur Erwägung vorschlagen“; to propose, frz. *proposer*, ist indirekte Ableitung von „*prononere*“. ¹⁹⁾ galaxy „Milchstrasse“. ²⁰⁾ future votes, „Zukunftsurtheile“; man hat sich unter „votes“ die Kügelchen vorzustellen, durch welche bei der Ballotage das Votum ausgedrückt wird. ²¹⁾ a slight (zu „slight“, unbedeutend, geringfügig), „eine geringfügige Vernachlässigung, eine Geringschätzung.“

brance of the fall of the coalition, that he attributed that fall to the exertions of the East India interest, and that he considered Hastings as the head and the representative of that interest. This explanation seems to be sufficiently refuted by a reference to dates. The hostility of Burke to Hastings commenced long before the coalition; and lasted long after Burke had become a strenuous supporter of those by whom the coalition had been defeated. It began when Burke and Fox, closely allied together, were attacking the influence of the crown, and calling for peace with the American republic. It continued till Burke, alienated from Fox, and loaded with the favours of the crown, died, preaching a crusade against the French republic. It seems absurd to attribute to the events of 1784 an enmity which began in 1781, and which retained undiminished force long after persons far more deeply implicated than Hastings in the events of 1784 had been cordially forgiven. And why should we look for any other explanation of Burke's conduct than that which we find on the surface? The plain truth is that Hastings had committed some great crimes, and that the thought of those crimes made the blood of Burke boil in his veins. For Burke was a man in whom compassion for suffering, and hatred of injustice and tyranny, were as strong as in Las Casas* or Clarkson*. And although in him, as in Las Casas and in Clarkson, these noble feelings were alloyed with the infirmity which belongs to human nature, he is, like them, entitled to this great praise, that he devoted years of intense labour to the service of a people with whom he had neither blood nor language, neither religion nor manners in common, and from whom no requital, no thanks, no applause could be expected.

His knowledge of India was such as few even of those Europeans who have passed many years in that country, have attained, and such as certainly was never attained by any public man who had not quitted Europe. He had studied the history, the laws, and the usages of the East with an industry such as is seldom found united to so much genius and so much sensibility. Others have perhaps been equally laborious, and have collected an equal mass of materials. But the manner in which Burke brought his higher powers of intellect to work on statements of facts, and on tables of figures, was peculiar to himself. In every part of those huge bales of Indian information which repelled almost all other readers,

his mind, at once philosophical and poetical, found something to instruct²²⁾ or to delight. His reason analysed and digested those vast and shapeless masses; his imagination animated and coloured them. Out of darkness, and dulness, and confusion, he formed a multitude of ingenious theories and vivid pictures. He had, in the highest degree, that noble faculty whereby man is able to live in the past and in the future, in the distant and in the unreal.²³⁾ India and its inhabitants were not to him, as to most Englishmen, mere names and abstractions, but a real country and a real people. The burning sun, the strange vegetation of the palm and the cocoa²⁴⁾ tree, the rice-field, the tank, the huge trees, older than the Mogul empire, under which the village crowds assemble, the thatched roof²⁵⁾ of the peasant's hut, the rich tracery²⁶⁾ of the mosque where the ĩmaūm²⁷⁾ prays with his face to Mecca, the drums, and banners, and gaudy idols, the devotee swinging in the air, the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the river-side, the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks²⁸⁾ of sect, the turbans and the flowing robes, the spears and the silver maces, the elephants with their canopies of state, the gorgeous palanquin of the prince, and the close litter of the noble lady, — all those things were to him as the objects amidst which his own life had been passed, as the objects which lay on the road between Beaconsfield* and St. James's Street*. All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the halls where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns to the wild moor where the gipsy camp was pitched, from the bazars, humming like bee-hives with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier²⁹⁾ shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the h̃yaēnas. He had just as lively an idea of the insurrection at Benares as of Lord George Gordon's* riots, and of the execution of Nun-

²²⁾ something to instruct: Ueber den attributiven Infinitiv siehe L. Cl. II, 47. ²³⁾ the distant and the unreal: Die Wiederholung des Artikels dient zur Individualisirung der einzelnen Begriffe und verstärkt in Folge dessen hier den Gegensatz; distant und unreal sind bezüglich zu identifizieren mit past und future. ²⁴⁾ cocoa, spr. cōcō. ²⁵⁾ thatched roof, siehe L. Cl. V, 8. ²⁶⁾ „tracery“ bezeichnet die Arabesken und Blattverzierungen eines Bauwerkes. ²⁷⁾ imaum, ein mohamedanischer Priester. ²⁸⁾ Die gelben Streifen sind ein Zeichen der Religionsangehörigkeit (Mohamedaner). ²⁹⁾ spr. cōō-rīēr.

comar as of the execution of Dr. Dodd.* Oppression in Bengal was to him the same thing as oppression in the streets of London.

He saw that Hastings had been guilty of some most unjustifiable acts. All that followed was natural and necessary in a mind like Burke's. His imagination and his passions, once excited, hurried him beyond the bounds of justice and good sense. His reason, powerful as it was, became the slave of feelings which it should have controlled. His indignation, virtuous in its origin, acquired too much of the character of personal aversion. He could see no mitigating circumstance, no redeeming merit. His temper, which, though generous and affectionate, had always been irritable, had now been made almost savage by bodily infirmities and mental vexations. Conscious of great powers and great virtues, he found himself, in age and poverty, a mark for the hatred of a perfidious court and a deluded people. In Parliament his eloquence was out of date.³⁰⁾ A young generation, which knew him not, had filled the House. Whenever he rose to speak, his voice was drowned by the unseemly interruptions of lads who were in their cradles when his orations on the Stamp Act* called forth the applause of the great Earl of Chatham. These things had produced on his proud and sensitive spirit an effect at which we cannot wonder. He could no longer discuss any question with calmness, or make allowance for honest differences of opinion. Those who think that he was more violent and acrimonious in debates about India than on other occasions are ill informed respecting the last years of his life. In the discussions on the Commercial Treaty with the Court of Versailles, on the Regency,* on the French Revolution, he showed even more virulence than in conducting the impeachment. Indeed, it may be remarked that the very persons who called him a mischievous *màniac*, for condemning in burning words the Rohilla war and the spoliation of the Begums, exalted him into a prophet as soon as he began to declaim, with greater vehemence, and not with greater reason, against the taking of the Bastile³¹⁾ and the insults offered to Marie Antoinette. To us he appears to have been neither a maniac in the former case, nor a prophet in the latter, but in both cases a great and good man, led into extrav-

³⁰⁾ out of date, „nicht mehr an der Zeit, aus der Mode“.

³¹⁾ spr. *bastèel*.

agance by a tempestuous sensibility which dōminēered over all his faculties.

It may be doubted whether the personal antipathy of Francis, or the nobler indignation of Burke, would have led their party to adopt extreme measures against Hastings, if his own conduct had been judicious. He should have felt that, great as his public services had been, he was not faultless; and should have been content to make his escape, without aspiring to the honours of a triumph. He and his agent took a different view. They were impatient for the rewards which, as they conceived, were deferred only till Burke's attack should be over. They accordingly resolved to force a decisive action with an enemy for whom, if they had been wise, they would have made a bridge of gold. On the first day of the session of 1786, Major Scott reminded Burke of the notice given in the [preceding year, and asked whether it was seriously intended to bring any charge against the late Governor-General. This challenge left no course open to the Opposition, except to come forward as accusers, or to acknowledge themselves calumniators. The administration of Hastings had not been so blameless, nor was the great party of Fox and North so feeble, that it could be prudent to venture on so bold a defiance. The leaders of the Opposition instantly returned the only answer which they could with honour return; and the whole party was irrévocably pledged to a prosecution.³²⁾

IX.

Warren Hastings vor dem Parlamente (1786—1795) und seine letzten Lebensjahre (1795—1818).

Burke began his operations by applying for Papers. Some of the documents for which he asked were refused by the ministers, who, in the debate, held language such as strongly confirmed the prevailing opinion, that they intended

³²⁾ „prosecution“ bezeichnet im Gegensatze zu „persecution“ eine gerichtliche Verfolgung, eine Anklage.

to support Hastings. In April the charges were laid on the table. They had been drawn by Burke with great ability, though in a form too much resembling that of a pamphlet. Hastings was furnished with a copy of the accusation; and it was intimated to him that he might, if he thought fit, be heard in his own defence at the bar of the Commons.¹⁾

Here again Hastings was pursued by the same fatality which had attended him ever since the day when he set foot on English ground. It seemed to be decreed that this man, so politic²⁾ and so successful in the East, should commit nothing but blunders in Europe. Any judicious adviser would have told him that the best thing which he could do would be to make an eloquent, forcible, and affecting oration at the bar of the House; but that, if he could not trust himself to speak, and found it necessary to read, he ought to be as concise as possible. Audiences accustomed to extemporaneous debating of the highest excellence are always impatient of long written compositions. Hastings, however, sat down as he would have done at the Government-house in Bengal, and prepared a paper of immense length. That paper, if recorded on the consultations of an Indian administration, would have been justly praised as a very able minute. But it was now out of place.³⁾ It fell flat,⁴⁾ as the best written defence must have fallen flat, on an assembly accustomed to the animated and strenuous conflicts of Pitt and Fox. The members, as soon as their curiosity about the face and demeanour of so eminent a stranger was satisfied, walked away to dinner, and left Hastings to tell his story till midnight to the clerks and the Sergeant-at-arms.*

All preliminary steps having been duly taken, Burke, in the beginning of June, brought forward the charge relating to the Rohilla war. He acted discreetly in placing this accusation in the van; for Dundas* had formerly moved, and the House had adopted, a resolution condemning, in the most

¹⁾ the bar, „die Schranke“, speciell diejenige Schranke, welche den Raum der Richter abtrennt von dem übrigen Theile eines Sitzungssaales, und im Anschlusse daran: das Gericht; at the bar of the Commons, „vor dem Richtersthule des Parlamentes“. ²⁾ politic (zu „policy“), „schlau, verschlagen“; political „politisch“ (zu „politics“ und „polity“); vgl. L. Cl. II, 7. ³⁾ out of place, „am ungehörigen Orte, unangebracht“; vgl. VIII, 30. ⁴⁾ flat (deutsch „platt“), „flach, eben“, und bildlich: matt, schal, welk; to fall flat, „keine Wirkung thun“.

severe terms, the policy followed by Hastings with regard to Rohilcund. Dundas had little, or rather nothing, to say in defence of his own consistency; but he put a bold face on the matter, and opposed the motion. Among other things, he declared that, though he still thought the Rohilla war unjustifiable, he considered the services which Hastings had subsequently rendered to the state as sufficient to atone even for so great an offence. Pitt did not speak, but voted with Dundas: and Hastings was absolved by a hundred and nineteen votes against sixty-seven.

Hastings was now confident of victory. It seemed, indeed, that he had reason to be so. The Rohilla war was, of all his measures, that which his accusers might with greatest advantage assail. It had been condemned by the Court of Directors. It had been condemned by the House of Commons. It had been condemned by Mr. Dundas, who had since become the chief minister of the Crown for Indian affairs. Yet Burke, having chosen this strong ground, had been completely defeated on it. That, having failed here, he should succeed on any point, was generally thought impossible. It was rumoured at the clubs and coffee-houses that one or perhaps two more charges would be brought forward, that if, on those charges, the sense of the House of Commons should be against impeachment, the Opposition would let the matter drop, that Hastings would be immediately raised to the peerage, decorated with the star of the Bath,* sworn⁵⁾ of the privy council,* and invited to lend the assistance of his talents and experience to the India board.⁶⁾ Lord Thurlow, indeed, some months before, had spoken with contempt of the scruples which prevented Pitt from calling Hastings to the House of Lords; and had even said, that if the Chancellor of the Exchequer was afraid of the Commons, there was nothing to prevent the Keeper of the Great Seal* from taking the royal pleasure about a patent of peerage. The very title was chosen. Hastings was to be Lord Daylesford. For, through all changes of scene and changes of fortune, remained unchanged his attachment to the spot which had witnessed the greatness and the fall of his family, and which had

⁵⁾ sworn of the privy council, „a member“ ist zu ergänzen. Die zu Mitgliedern des Staatsrathes Designirten haben einen besonderen Eid zu leisten. ⁶⁾ the India board ist identisch mit „the Board of Control“.

borne so great a part in the first dreams of his young ambition.

But in a very few days these fair prospects were overcast. On the thirteenth of June, Mr. Fox brought forward, with great ability and eloquence, the charge respecting the treatment of Cheyte Sing. Francis followed on the same side. The friends of Hastings were in high spirits ⁷⁾ when Pitt rose. With his usual abundance and felicity ⁸⁾ of language, the Minister gave his opinion on the case. He maintained that the Governor-General was justified in calling on the Rajah of Benares for pecuniary assistance, and in imposing a fine when that assistance was contumaciously withheld. He also thought that the conduct of the Governor-General during the insurrection had been distinguished by ability and presence of mind. He censured, with great bitterness, the conduct of Francis, both in India and in Parliament, as most dishonest and malignant. The necessary inference from Pitt's arguments seemed to be that Hastings ought to be honourably acquitted; and both the friends and the opponents of the Minister expected from him a declaration to that effect. To the astonishment of all parties, he concluded by saying that, though he thought it right in Hastings to fine Cheyte Sing for contumacy, yet the amount of the fine was too great for the occasion. On this ground, and on this ground alone, did Mr. Pitt, applauding every other part of the conduct of Hastings with regard to Benares, declare that he should vote in favour of Mr. Fox's motion.

The House was thunderstruck; and it well might be so. For the wrong done to Cheyte Sing, even had it been as flagitious as Fox and Francis contended, was a trifle when compared with the horrors which had been inflicted on Rohilcund. But if Mr. Pitt's view of the case of Cheyte Sing were correct, there was no ground for an impeachment, or even for a vote of censure. If the offence of Hastings was really no more than this, that, having a right to impose a mulct, the amount of which mulct was not defined, but was left to be settled by his discretion, he had, not for his own advantage, but for that of the state, demanded too much, was this an offence which required a criminal proceeding of

⁷⁾ in high spirits, vgl. L. Cl. I, 41. ⁸⁾ felicity, a) das hohe Glücksgefühl, das Entzücken, b) das ausserordentliche Glücksgut; his felicity of language, „seine wonnevolle Beredtsamkeit“.

the highest solemnity, a criminal proceeding, to which, during sixty years, no public functionary had been subjected? We can see, we think, in what way a man of sense⁹⁾ and integrity might have been induced to take any course respecting Hastings, except the course which Mr. Pitt took. Such a¹⁰⁾ man might have thought a great example necessary, for the preventing of injustice, and for the vindicating of the national honour, and might, on that ground, have voted for impeachment both on the Rohilla charge, and on the Benares charge. Such a man might have thought that the offences of Hastings had been atoned¹¹⁾ for by great services, and might, on that ground, have voted against the impeachment, on both charges. With great diffidence,¹²⁾ we give it as our opinion that the most correct course would, on the whole, have been to impeach on the Rohilla charge, and to acquit on the Benares charge. Had the Benares charge appeared to us in the same light in which it appeared to Mr. Pitt, we should, without hesitation, have voted for acquittal on that charge. The one course which it is inconceivable that any man of a tenth part of Mr. Pitt's abilities can have honestly taken was the course which he took. He acquitted Hastings on the Rohilla charge. He softened down the Benares charge till it became no charge at all; and then he pronounced that it contained matter for impeachment.

Nor must it be forgotten that the principal reason assigned by the ministry for not impeaching Hastings on account of the Rohilla war was this, that the delinquencies of the early part of his administration had been atoned for by the excellence of the later part. Was it not most extraordinary that men who had held this language could afterwards vote that the later part of his administration furnished matter for no less than twenty articles of impeachment? They first re-

⁹⁾ a man of sense, ein Mann von richtigem Empfinden, gesundem Urtheil; vgl. L. Cl. II, 21. ¹⁰⁾ Die Bezeichnung des Gegensatzes durch such a . . . such a (deutsch: dieser . . . jener) weist zugleich darauf hin, dass es sich um einen Artenunterschied, um einen Gegensatz in der Anschauungsweise handelt. ¹¹⁾ to atone (gleich: „to set at one“, vereinigen, versöhnen), büssen (ursprünglich: jemanden versöhnen in Betreff eines Vergehens). ¹²⁾ diffidence bedeutet: Mangel an Selbstvertrauen; to judge with diffidence, seine Befähigung oder Berechtigung zu einem Urtheile in Zweifel ziehen; with great diffidence, wäre hier wiederzugeben durch: in aller Bescheidenheit.

presented the conduct of Hastings in 1780 and 1781 as so highly meritorious that, like works of supererogation¹³⁾ in the Catholic theology, it ought to be efficacious for the cancelling of former offences; and they then prosecuted him for his conduct in 1780 and 1781.

The general astonishment was the greater, because, only twenty-four hours before, the members on whom the minister could depend had received the usual notes from the Treasury, begging them to be in their places and to vote against Mr. Fox's motion. It was asserted by Mr. Hastings that, early on the morning of the very day on which the debate took place, Dundas called on Pitt, woke him, and was closeted with him many hours. The result of this conference was a determination to give up the late Governor-General to the vengeance of the Opposition. It was impossible even for the most powerful minister to carry all his followers with him in so strange a course. Several persons high in office, the Attorney-General, Mr. Grenville,* and Lord Múlgrave,* divided against Mr. Pitt. But the devoted adherents who stood by the head of the government without asking questions, were sufficiently numerous to turn the scale. A hundred and nineteen members voted for Mr. Fox's motion; seventy-nine against it. Dundas silently followed Pitt.

That good and great man, the late William Wilberforce,* often related the events of this remarkable night. He described the amazement of the House, and the bitter reflections which were muttered against the Prime Minister by some of the habitual supporters of government. Pitt himself appeared to feel that his conduct required some explanation. He left the treasury bench,* sat for some time next to Mr. Wilberforce, and very earnestly declared that he had found it impossible, as a man of conscience, to stand any longer by Hastings. The business, he said, was too bad. Mr. Wilberforce, we are bound to add, fully believed that his friend was sincere, and that the suspicions to which this mysterious affair gave rise were altogether unfounded.

Those suspicions, indeed, were such as it is painful to mention. The friends of Hastings, most of whom, it is to be observed, generally supported the administration, affirmed that the motive of Pitt and Dundas was jealousy. Hastings

¹³⁾ supererogation, das Ueberverdienst zur Seligkeit (aus lat. „supererogatio“, Bezahlung über das Erforderliche hinaus).

was personally a favourite with the king. He was the idol of the East India Company and of its servants. If he were absolved by the Commons, seated among the Lords, admitted to the Board of Control, closely allied with the strong-minded¹⁴⁾ and imperious Thurlow, was it not almost certain that he would soon draw to himself the entire management of Eastern affairs? Was it not possible that he might become a formidable rival in the cabinet? It had probably got abroad that very singular communications had taken place between Thurlow and Major Scott, and that, if the First Lord of the Treasury was afraid to recommend Hastings for a peerage, the Chancellor was ready to take the responsibility of that step on himself. Of all ministers, Pitt was the least likely to submit with patience to such an encroachment on his functions. If the Commons impeached Hastings, all danger was at an end. The proceeding, however it might terminate, would probably last some years. In the mean time, the accused person would be excluded from honours and public employments, and could scarcely venture even to pay his duty¹⁵⁾ at court. Such were the motives attributed by a great part of the public to the young minister, whose ruling passion was generally believed to be avarice of power.

The prorogation soon interrupted the discussions respecting Hastings. In the following year, those discussions were resumed. The charge touching the spoliation of the Begums was brought forward by Sheridan,* in a speech which was so imperfectly reported that it may be said to be wholly lost, but which was, without doubt, the most elaborately brilliant of all the productions of his ingenious mind. The impression which it produced was such as has never been equalled. He sat down, not merely amidst cheering, but amidst the loud clapping of hands, in which the Lords below the bar and the strangers in the gallery joined. The excitement of the House was such that no other speaker could obtain a hearing; and the debate was adjourned. The ferment spread fast through the town. Within four and twenty hours, Sheridan was offered a thousand pounds for the copyright¹⁶⁾ of the speech, if he would himself correct it for the press. The impression made by this remarkable display of eloquence on

¹⁴⁾ strong-minded, „willensstark“; vgl. L. Cl. III, 14. ¹⁵⁾ to pay one's duty ist gleichbedeutend mit „to pay one's respects“, VIII, 3. ¹⁶⁾ copyright, „Verlagsrecht“.

severe and experienced critics, whose discernment may be supposed to have been quickened by emulation, was deep and permanent. Mr. Windham,* twenty years later, said that the speech deserved all its fame, and was, in spite of some faults of taste, such as were seldom wanting either¹⁷⁾ in the literary or in the parliamentary performances of Sheridan, the finest that had been delivered within the memory of man. Mr. Fox, about the same time, being asked by the late Lord Holland* what was the best speech ever made in the House of Commons, assigned the first place, without hesitation, to the great oration of Sheridan on the Oude charge.

When the debate was resumed, the tide ran so strongly against the accused that his friends were coughed and scraped down. Pitt declared himself for Sheridan's motion; and the question was carried¹⁸⁾ by a hundred and seventy-five votes against sixty-eight.

The Opposition, flushed with victory and strongly supported by the public sympathy, proceeded to bring forward a succession of charges relating chiefly to pecuniary transactions. The friends of Hastings were discouraged, and, having now no hope of being able to avert an impeachment, were not very strenuous in their exertions. At length the House, having agreed to twenty articles of charge, directed Burke to go before the Lords, and to impeach the late Governor-General of High Crimes and Misdemeanours. Hastings was at the same time arrested by the Sergeant-at-arms, and carried to the bar of the Peers.*

The session was now within ten days of¹⁹⁾ its close. It was, therefore, impossible that any progress could be made in the trial till the next year. Hastings was admitted to bail; and further proceedings were postponed till the Houses should re-assemble.

When Parliament met in the following winter, the Commons proceeded to elect a committee for managing the impeachment. Burke stood at the head; and with him were associated most of the leading members of the Opposition.

¹⁷⁾ either... or schliesst nicht immer das eine Glied des Gegensatzes aus, sondern wird auch additionell gebraucht, und zwar nach vorangehender Verneinung (hier seldom). ¹⁸⁾ the question was carried, „der Antrag ging durch“. ¹⁹⁾ within ten days of, vgl. L. Cl. VI, 30.

But when the name of Francis was read a fierce contention arose. It was said that Francis and Hastings were notoriously on bad terms, that they had been at feud during many years, that on one occasion their mutual aversion had impelled them to seek each other's lives, and that it would be improper and indelicate to select a private enemy to be a public accuser. It was urged on the other side with great force, particularly by Mr. Windham, that impartiality, though the first duty of a judge, had never been reckoned among the qualities of an advocate; that in the ordinary administration of criminal justice among the English, the aggrieved party,²⁰⁾ the very last person who ought to be admitted into the jury-box,²¹⁾ is the prosecutor; that what was wanted in a manager was, not that he should be free from bias,²²⁾ but that he should be able, well informed, energetic, and active. The ability and information of Francis were admitted; and the very animosity with which he was reproached, whether a virtue or a vice, was at least a pledge for his energy and activity. It seems difficult to refute these arguments. But the inveterate hatred borne by Francis to Hastings had excited general disgust. The House decided that Francis should not be a manager.²³⁾ Pitt voted with the majority, Dundas with the minority.

In the mean time, the preparations for the trial had proceeded rapidly; and on the thirteenth of February, 1788, the sittings of the Court commenced. There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewellery and cloth of gold, more attractive to grown-up children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster; but, perhaps, there never was a spectacle so well calculated to strike a highly cultivated, a reflecting, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present and to the past, were collected on one spot, and in one hour. All the talents and all the accomplishments

²⁰⁾ Derjenige, welcher ein Verbrechen zur Anzeige bringt, (gewöhnlich der von demselben Betroffene oder dessen Anwalt) hat nach englischem Kriminalverfahren Sitz und Stimme unter den Geschworenen, die dort als Ankläger fungiren. Einen Staatsanwalt als allgemeinen Ankläger kennt die englische Rechtspraxis nicht. ²¹⁾ jury-box, „die Loge der Geschworenen“ ²²⁾ bias, a) schiefe Ebene, b) Neigung nach einer Seite hin, c) bildlich: „Vorthail“. ²³⁾ managers, „Führer, Leiter“, sind diejenigen Mitglieder des Unterhauses, welche eine Anklage vor dem Oberhause zu leiten und Zeugen vorzuführen haben.

which are developed by liberty and civilisation were now displayed, with every advantage that could be derived both from co-operation and from contrast. Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many troubled centuries, to the days when the foundations of our constitution were laid; or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky nations living under strange stars, worshipping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The High Court of Parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and over the ladies of the princely house of Oude.

The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall* of William Rufus, the hall which had resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon* and the just absolution of Somers,* the hall where the eloquence of Strafford* had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment, the hall where Charles* had confronted the High Court of Justice with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The peers, robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds, under Garter King-at-arms.* The judges in their vestments of state attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords, three fourths of the Upper-House as the Upper-House then was, walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior baron²⁴⁾ present led the way, George Eliott,* Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defence of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession was closed by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the King. Last of all came the Prince of Wales,* conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing. The grey old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited the fears or the emulation of an

²⁴⁾ „the junior baron“ ist derjenige, welcher zuletzt als Baron ins Oberhaus eingetreten ist.

orator. There were gathered together, from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated round the Queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the Ambassadors of great Kings and Commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons,* in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman Empire* thought of the days when Cicerō pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tācitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa. There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Rēynolds* from that easel²⁵⁾ which has preserved to us the thoughtful foreheads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr* to suspend his labours in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition, a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous charms of her* to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There too was she,* the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the Saint Cēcília whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticized, and exchanged rēpartées, under the rich peacock-hangings of Mrs. Montague. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the Westminster election against palace and treasury, shone round Georgiána Duchess of Devonshire.

The Sergeants made proclamation.²⁶⁾ Hastings advanced to the bar, and bent his knee. The culprit was indeed not unworthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country, and made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in

²⁵⁾ easel (deutsch „Esel“, auch Typus des Lastträgers), die Staffelei (welche das Bild trägt). ²⁶⁾ to make proclamation, den „Beginn der Session ankündigen“.

his high place he had so borne himself, that all had feared him, that most had loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory, except virtue. He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage²⁷⁾ which, while it indicated déference to the court, indicated also habitual self-possession and self-respect, a high and intellectual forehead, a brow pensive, but not gloomy, a mouth of inflexible decision, a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, *Mens aequa in arduis*; such was the aspect with which the great proconsul presented himself to his judges.

His counsel accompanied him, men all of whom were afterwards raised by their talents and learning to the highest posts in their profession, the bold and strong-minded Law, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench;* the more humane and eloquent Dallas, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and Plomer who, near twenty years later, successfully conducted in the same high court the defence of Lord Melville,* and subsequently became Vice-chancellor and Master of the Rolls.*

But neither the culprit nor his advocates attracted so much notice as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red drapery, a space had been fitted up with green benches, and tables for the Commons. The managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing a bag and sword. Pitt had refused to be one of the conductors of the impeachment; and his commanding, copious, and sonorous eloquence was wanting to that great muster of various talents. Age and blindness had unfitted Lord North for the duties of a public prosecutor; and his friends were left without the help of his excellent sense, his tact, and his urbanity. But, in spite of the absence of these two distinguished members of the Lower House, the box in which the managers stood contained an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There were Fox and Sher-

²⁷⁾ to carry, „fahren“ und „verfahren, sich benehmen“; the carriage daher auch „das Benehmen“.

idan, the English Dēmósthēnēs and the English Hŷpéridēs.* There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers, but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator, ancient or modern. There, with eyes reverentially fixed on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age, his form developed by every manly exercise, his face beaming with intelligence and spirit, the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham. Nor, though surrounded by such men, did the youngest manager pass unnoticed. At an age when most of those who distinguished themselves in life are still contending for prizes and fellowships* at college,* he had won for himself a conspicuous place in parliament. No advantage of fortune or connection was wanting that could set off to the height his splendid talents and his unblemished honour. At twenty-three he had been thought worthy to be ranked with the veteran statesmen who appeared as the delegates of the British Commons, at the bar of the British nobility. All who stood at that bar, save him alone, are gone — culprit, advocates, accusers. To the generation which is now in the vigour of life, he is the sole representative of a great age which has passed away. But those who, within the last ten years, have listened with delight, till the morning sun shone on the tapestries of the House of Lords, to the lofty and animated eloquence of Charles Earl Grey,* are able to form some estimate of the powers of a race of men among whom he was not the foremost.

The charges and the answers of Hastings were first read. The ceremony occupied two whole days, and was rendered less tedious than it would otherwise have been by the silver voice and just emphasis of Cowper, the clerk of the court, a near relation of the amiable poet. On the third day Burke rose. Four sittings were occupied by his opening speech, which was intended to be a general introduction to all the charges. With an exuberance of thought and a splendour of diction which more than satisfied the highly-raised expectation of the audience, he described the character and institutions of the natives of India, recounted the circumstances in which the Asiatic empire of Britain had originated, and set forth the constitution of the Company and of the English Presidencies. Having thus attempted to communicate to his hearers an idea of Eastern society, as vivid as that which existed

in his own mind, he proceeded to arraign the administration of Hastings as systematically conducted in defiance of morality and public law. The energy and pathos of the great orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile Chancellor, and, for a moment, seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of the defendant.²⁸⁾ The ladies in the galleries, unaccustomed to such displays of eloquence, excited by the solemnity of the occasion, and perhaps not unwilling to display their taste and sensibility, were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out; smelling-bottles were handed round; hysterical sobs and screams were heard; and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in a fit. At length the orator concluded. Raising his voice till the old arches of Irish oak resounded, "Therefore," said he, "hath it with all confidence been ordered by the Commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach him in the name of the Commons' House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!"

When the deep murmur of various emotions had subsided, Mr. Fox rose to address the Lords respecting the course of proceeding to be followed. The wish of the accusers was that the Court would bring to a close the investigation of the first charge before the second was opened. The wish of Hastings and of his counsel was that the managers should²⁹⁾ open all the charges, and produce all the evidence for the prosecution, before the defence began. The Lords retired to their own House to consider the question. The Chancellor

²⁸⁾ defendant (lat. „defendendus“, einer welcher vertheidigt werden muss), der Angeklagte. ²⁹⁾ that the court would, — that the managers should: Die Entschliessung des Peershofes hängt von ihm selbst ab, den „managers“ aber wird das einzuschlagende Verfahren vorgeschrieben. Das Hülfsverb „would“ ist daher rein temporal aufzufassen (Imperfekt des Futurums); in der Form „should“ hat neben dem temporalen Elemente auch die Vorstellung des Sollens Ausdruck gefunden.

took the side of Hastings. Lord Loughborough, who was now in opposition, supported the demand of the managers. The division showed which way the inclination of the tribunal leaned. A majority of near three to one decided in favour of the course for which Hastings contended.

When the Court sat again, Mr. Fox, assisted by Mr. Grey, opened the charge respecting Cheyte Sing, and several days were spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses. The next article was that relating to the Princesses of Oude. The conduct of this part of the case was intrusted to Sheridan. The curiosity of the public to hear him was unbounded. His sparkling and highly finished declamation lasted two days; but the Hall was crowded to suffocation during the whole time. It was said that fifty guineas had been paid for a single ticket. Sheridan, when he concluded, contrived, with a knowledge of stage-effect which his father* might have envied, to sink back, as if exhausted, into the arms of Burke, who hugged him with the energy of generous admiration.

June was now far advanced. The session could not last much longer; and the progress which had been made in the impeachment was not very satisfactory. There were twenty charges. On two only of these had even the case for the prosecution³⁰⁾ been heard; and it was now a year since Hastings had been admitted to bail.

The interest taken by the public in the trial was great when the Court began to sit, and rose to the height when Sheridan spoke on the charge relating to the Begums. From that time the excitement went down fast. The spectacle had lost the attraction of novelty. The great displays of rhetoric were over. What was behind was not of a nature to entice men of letters from their books in the morning, or to tempt ladies who had left the masquerade at two to be out of bed before eight. There remained examinations and cross-examinations. There remained statements of accounts. There remained the reading of papers, filled with words unintelligible

³⁰⁾ the case for the prosecution ist derjenige Theil eines Kriminalverfahrens, welcher alles auf die Anklage Bezügliche umfasst, also Verlesen der Anklageakte, Verhör der Belastungszeugen, Kreuzverhör u. s. w.; den Gegensatz bildet: the case for the defence; — the case for the prosecution was heard, „die Anklage war zum Abschluss gebracht“.

to English ears, with lacs and crores, zemindars and aumils, sunnuds and perwannahs, jaghires and nuzzurs. There remained bickerings, not always carried on with the best taste or with the best temper, between the managers of the impeachment and the counsel for the defence, particularly between Mr. Burke and Mr. Law. There remained the endless marches and countermarches of the Peers between their House and the Hall: for as often as a point of law was to be discussed, their Lordships retired to discuss it apart; and the consequence was, as a peer wittily said, that the Judges walked and the trial stood still.

It is to be added that, in the spring of 1788 when the trial commenced, no important question, either of domestic or foreign policy, excited the public mind. The proceeding in Westminster Hall, therefore, naturally attracted most of the attention of Parliament and of the public. It was the one great event of that season. But in the following year the King's illness, the debates on the Regency,* the expectation of a change of Ministry, completely diverted public attention from Indian affairs; and within a fortnight after George, the Third had returned thanks in St. Paul's for his recovery the States-General* of France met at Versailles. In the midst of the agitation produced by these events, the impeachment was for a time almost forgotten.

The trial in the Hall went on languidly. In the session of 1788, when the proceedings had the interest of novelty, and when the Peers had little other business before them, only thirty-five days were given to the impeachment.* In 1789, the Regency Bill occupied the Upper House till the session was far advanced. When the King recovered the circuits* were beginning. The judges left town; the Lords waited for the return of the oracles of jurisprudence; and the consequence was that during the whole year only seventeen days were given to the case of Hastings. It was clear that the matter would be protracted to a length unprecedented in the annals of criminal law.

In truth, it is impossible to deny that impeachment, though it is a fine ceremony, and though it may have been useful in the seventeenth century, is not a proceeding from which much good can now be expected. Whatever confidence may be placed in the decisions of the Peers on an appeal arising out of ordinary litigation, it is certain that no man has the least confidence in their impartiality, when a great

public functionary, charged with a great state crime, is brought to their bar. They are all politicians. There is hardly one among them whose vote on an impeachment may not be confidently predicted before a witness has been examined; and, even if it were possible to rely on their justice, they would still be quite unfit to try such a cause as that of Hastings. They sit only during half the year. They have to transact much legislative and much judicial business. The law-lords, whose advice is required to guide the unlearned majority, are employed daily in administering justice elsewhere. It is impossible, therefore, that during a busy session, the Upper House should give more than a few days to an impeachment. To expect that their Lordships would give up partridge-shooting, in order to bring the greatest dēlinquent to speedy justice, or to relieve accused innocence by speedy acquittal, would be unreasonable indeed. A well-cóstituted tribunal, sitting regularly six days in the week, and nine hours in the day, would have brought the trial of Hastings to a close in less than three months. The Lords had not finished their work in seven years.

The result ceased to be matter of doubt, from the time when the Lords resolved that they would be guided by the rules of evidence which are received in the inferior courts of the realm. Those rules, it is well known, exclude much information which would be quite sufficient to determine the conduct of any reasonable man, in the most important transactions of private life. Those rules, at every assizes,³¹⁾ save scores of culprits whom judges, jury, and spectators, firmly believe to be guilty. But when those rules were rigidly applied to offences committed many years before, at the distance of many thousand miles, conviction was, of course, out of the question. We do not blame the accused and his counsel for availing themselves of every legal advantage in order to obtain an acquittal. But it is clear that an acquittal so obtained cannot be pleaded in bar of the judgment of history.

³¹⁾ every assizes: Der Gebrauch von „every“ vor dem Plural „assizes“ ist aus dem Sinne zu erklären: das jedesmalige Zusammentreten von Geschworenen, jedes Geschworenengericht. Man bezeichnet das Geschworenengericht übrigens auch mit dem Singular „assize“, ein Beweis, dass man in dem Begriffe dieses Wortes leicht eine Einheit sieht.

Several attempts were made by the friends of Hastings to put a stop to the trial. In 1789 they proposed a vote of censure upon Burke, for some violent language which he had used respecting the death of Nuncomar and the connection between Hastings and Impey. Burke was then unpopular in the last degree both with the House and with the country. The asperity and indecency of some expressions which he had used during the debates on the Regency had annoyed even his warmest friends. The vote of censure was carried; and those who had moved it hoped that the managers would resign in disgust. Burke was deeply hurt. But his zeal for what he considered as the cause of justice and mercy triumphed over his personal feelings. He received the censure of the House with dignity and meekness, and declared that no personal mortification or humiliation should induce him to flinch from the sacred duty which he had undertaken.

In the following year the Parliament was dissolved, and the friends of Hastings entertained a hope that the new House of Commons might not be disposed to go on with the impeachment. They began by maintaining that the whole proceeding was terminated by the dissolution. Defeated on this point, they made a direct motion that the impeachment should be dropped; but they were defeated by the combined forces of the Government and the Opposition. It was, however, resolved that, for the sake of expedition, many of the articles should be withdrawn. In truth, had not some such measure been adopted, the trial would have lasted till the defendant was in his grave.

At length, in the spring of 1795, the decision was pronounced, near eight years after Hastings had been brought by the Sergeant-at-arms of the Commons to the bar of the Lords. On the last day of this great procedure the public curiosity, long suspended, seemed to be revived. Anxiety about the judgment there could be none; for it had been fully ascertained that there was a great majority for the defendant. Nevertheless many wished to see the pageant, and the Hall was as much crowded as on the first day. But those who, having been present on the first day, now bore a part in the proceedings of the last, were few; and most of those few were altered men.

As Hastings himself said, the arraignment had taken place before one generation, and the judgment was pronounced by another. The spectator could not look at the wool-

sack,* or at the red benches of the Peers, or at the green benches of the Commons, without seeing something that reminded him of the instability of all human things, of the instability of power and fame and life, of the more lamentable instability of friendship. The great seal was borne before Lord Loughborough who, when the trial commenced, was a fierce opponent of Mr. Pitt's government, and who was now a member of that government, while Thurlow, who presided in the court when it first sat, estranged from all his old allies, sat scowling among the junior barons. Of about a hundred and sixty nobles who walked in the procession on the first day, sixty had been laid in their family vaults. Still more affecting must have been the sight of the managers' box. What had become of that fair fellowship, so closely bound together by public and private ties, so resplendent with every talent and accomplishment? It had been scattered by calamities more bitter than the bitterness of death. The great chiefs were still living, and still in the full vigour of their genius. But their friendship was at an end. It had been violently and publicly dissolved, with tears and stormy reproaches. If those men, once so dear to each other, were now compelled to meet for the purpose of managing the impeachment, they met as strangers whom public business had brought together, and behaved to each other with cold and distant civility. Burke had in his vortex whirled away Windham. Fox had been followed by Sheridan and Grey.

Only twenty-nine Peers voted. Of these only six found Hastings guilty on the charges relating to Cheyte Sing and to the Begums. On other charges, the majority in his favour was still greater. On some, he was unanimously absolved. He was then called to the bar, was informed from the wool-sack that the Lords had acquitted him, and was solemnly discharged. He bowed respectfully and retired.

We have said that the decision had been fully expected. It was also generally approved. At the commencement of the trial there had been a strong and indeed unreasonable feeling against Hastings. At the close of the trial there was a feeling equally strong and equally unreasonable in his favour. One cause of the change was, no doubt, what is commonly called the fickleness of the multitude, but what seems to us to be merely the general law of human nature. Both in individuals and in masses violent excitement is always followed by remission, and often by reaction. We are all inclined to de-

préciate whatever we have overpraised, and, on the other hand, to show undue indulgence where we have shown undue rigour. It was thus in the case of Hastings. The length of his trial, moreover, made him an object of compassion. It was thought, and not without reason, that, even if he was guilty, he was still an ill-used man, and that an impeachment of eight years was more than a sufficient punishment. It was also felt that, though, in the ordinary course of criminal law, a defendant is not allowed to set off³²⁾ his good actions against his crimes, a great political cause should be tried on different principles, and that a man who had governed an empire during thirteen years might have done some very reprehensible things, and yet might be on the whole deserving of rewards and honours rather than of fine and imprisonment. The press, an instrument neglected by the prosecutors, was used by Hastings and his friends with great effect. Every ship, too, that arrived from Madras or Bengal, brought a cuddy full of his admirers. Every gentleman from India spoke of the late Governor-General as having deserved better, and having been treated worse, than any man living. The effect of this testimony unanimously given by all persons who knew the East, was naturally very great. Retired members of the Indian service, civil and military, were settled in all corners of the kingdom. Each of them was, of course, in his own little circle, regarded as an oracle on an Indian question; and they were, with scarcely one exception, the zealous advocates of Hastings. It is to be added, that the numerous addresses to the late Governor-General, which his friends in Bengal obtained from the natives and transmitted to England, made a considerable impression. To these addresses we attach little or no importance. That Hastings was beloved by the people whom he governed is true; but the eulogies of pundits, zemindars, Mahommedan doctors, do not prove it to be true. For an English collector or judge would have found it easy to induce any native who could write to sign a panegyric³³⁾ on the most odious ruler that ever was in India. It was said that at Benares, the very place at which the acts set forth in the first article of impeachment had been committed, the natives had erected a temple to Hastings; and this story excited a strong sensation in England. Burke's observations on the apotheosis were admirable.

³²⁾ to set off, vgl. L. Cl. VIII, 24. ³³⁾ spr. pãnejéric.

He saw no reason for astonishment, he said, in the incident which had been represented as so striking. He knew something of the mythology of the Brahmins. He knew that as they worshipped some gods from love, so they worshipped others from fear. He knew that they erected shrines, not only to the benignant deities of light and plenty, but also to the fiends who preside over small-pox and murder. Nor did he at all dispute the claim of Mr. Hastings to be admitted into such a Panthéon. This reply has always struck us as one of the finest that ever was made in Parliament. It is a grave and forcible argument, decorated by the most brilliant wit and fancy.

Hastings was, however, safe. But in every thing except character, he would have been far better off if, when first impeached, he had at once pleaded guilty, and paid a fine of fifty thousand pounds. He was a ruined man. The legal expenses of his defence had been enormous. The expenses which did not appear in his attorney's bill were perhaps larger still. Great sums had been paid to Major Scott. Great sums had been laid out in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphletèers, and circulating tracts.³⁴⁾ Burke, so early as 1790, declared in the House of Commons that twenty thousand pounds had been employed in corrupting the press. It is certain that no controversial weapon, from the gravest reasoning to the coarsest ribaldry, was left unemployed. Logan defended the accused governor with great ability in prose. For the lovers of verse, the speeches of the managers were burlésqued in Simpkin's letters. It is, we are afraid, indisputable that Hastings stooped so low as to court the aid of that malignant and filthy baboon John Williams, who called himself Anthony Pásquin. It was necessary to subsidise such allies largely. The private hoards of Mrs. Hastings had disappeared. It is said that the banker to whom they had been intrusted had failed. Still if Hastings had practised strict economy, he would, after all his losses, have had a moderate competence;³⁵⁾ but in the management of his private affairs he was imprudent. The dearest wish of his heart had always been to regain Daylesford. At length, in the very year in which his trial commenced, the wish was accomplished; and

³⁴⁾ circulating tracts, fliegende Blätter. Vgl. „circulating library“, L. Cl. VIII, 9. ³⁵⁾ competence, siehe L. Cl. VII, 15.

the domain, alienated more than seventy years before, returned to the descendant of its old lords. But the manor house³⁶⁾ was a ruin; and the grounds round it had, during many years, been utterly neglected. Hastings proceeded to build, to plant, to form a sheet of water,³⁷⁾ to excavate a grotto; and, before he was dismissed from the bar of the House of Lords, he had expended more than forty thousand pounds in adorning his seat.

The general feeling both of the Directors and of the proprietors of the East India Company was that he had great claims on them, that his services to them had been eminent, and that his misfortunes had been the effect of his zeal for their interest. His friends in Leadenhall Street proposed to reimburse him for the costs of his trial, and to settle on him an annuity of five thousand pounds a year. But the consent of the Board of Control was necessary; and at the head of the Board of Control was Mr. Dundas, who had himself been a party to the impeachment, who had, on that account, been reviled with great bitterness by the adherents of Hastings, and who, therefore, was not in a very complying mood. He refused to consent to what the Directors suggested. The Directors remonstrated. A long controversy followed. Hastings, in the mean time, was reduced to such distress, that he could hardly pay his weekly bills. At length a compromise was made. An annuity of four thousand a year was settled on Hastings; and in order to enable him to meet pressing demands, he was to receive ten years' annuity in advance. The Company was also permitted to lend him fifty thousand pounds, to be repaid by instalments³⁸⁾ without interest. This relief, though given in the most absurd manner, was sufficient to enable the retired governor to live in comfort, and even in luxury, if he had been a skilful manager. But he was careless and profuse, and was more than once under the necessity of applying to the Company for assistance, which was liberally given.

He had security and affluence, but not the power and dignity which, when he landed from India, he had reason to

³⁶⁾ manor house, siehe I, 5. ³⁷⁾ „a sheet“ ist alles das, was die Form einer ausgebreiteten Fläche bietet; a sheet of water, ein künstlicher Wasserfall, der sich in Form einer dünnen, glatten Wasserschicht über einen Vorsprung ergießt. ³⁸⁾ instalments, zu „to install“, „einsetzen“ und „festsetzen“, sind die kontraktlich festgesetzten Zahlungstermine.

expect. He had then looked forward to a coronet,³⁹⁾ a red riband,⁴⁰⁾ a seat at the Council Board, an office at Whitehall.* He was then only fifty-two, and might hope for many years of bodily and mental vigour. The case was widely different when he left the bar of the Lords. He was now too old a man to turn his mind to a new class of studies and duties. He had no chance of receiving any mark of royal favour while Mr. Pitt remained in power; and, when Mr. Pitt retired, Hastings was approaching his seventieth year.

Once, and only once, after his acquittal, he interfered in politics; and that interference was not much to his honour. In 1804 he exerted himself strenuously to prevent Mr. Addington*, against whom Fox and Pitt had combined, from resigning the Treasury. It is difficult to believe that a man so able and energetic as Hastings can have thought that, when Bonaparte was at Boulogne with a great army, the defence of our island could safely be intrusted to a ministry which did not contain a single person whom flattery could describe as a great statesman. It is also certain that, on the important question which had raised Mr. Addington to power, and on which he differed from both Fox und Pitt, Hastings, as might have been expected, agreed with Fox and Pitt, and was decidedly opposed to Addington. Religious intolerance has never been the vice of the Indian service, and certainly was not the vice of Hastings. But Mr. Addington had treated him with marked favour. Fox had been a principal manager of the impeachment. To Pitt it was owing that there had been an impeachment; and Hastings, we fear, was on this occasion guided by personal considerations, rather than by a regard to the public interest.

The last twenty-four years of his life were chiefly passed at Daylesford. He amused himself with embellishing his grounds, riding fine Arab horses, fattening prize-cattle, and trying to rear Indian animals and vegetables in England. He sent for seeds of a very fine custard-apple, from the garden of what had once been his own villa, among the green hedgel rows of Allipòre.* He tried also to naturalise in Worcestershire the delicious lèèchēe,⁴¹⁾ almost the only fruit of Benga-

³⁹⁾ coronet, siehe I, 1. ⁴⁰⁾ „the red riband“ ist das Ordensband der Ritter vom Bath-Orden, dunkelroth mit blauer Einfassung. ⁴¹⁾ leechee (auch leecha und lichi), die Frucht der Euphoria litchi. (Hoppe, Supplementlexion).

which deserves to be regretted even amidst the plenty of Covent Garden.* The Mogul emperors, in the time of their greatness, had in vain attempted to introduce into Hindostan the goat of the table-land of Thibet,⁴²⁾ whose down supplies the looms of Cashmere with the materials of the finest shawls. Hastings tried, with no better fortune, to rear a breed at Daylesford; nor does he seem to have succeeded better with the cattle of Bootan,* whose tails are in high esteem as the best fans for brushing away the mosquitoes.⁴³⁾

Literature divided his attention with his conservatories⁴⁴⁾ and his ménagerie. He had always loved books, and they were now necessary to him. Though not a poet, in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility, and was fond of exercising this talent. Indeed, if we must speak out, he seems to have been more of a Trissotin than was to be expected from the powers of his mind, and from the great part which he had played in life. We are assured that the first thing which he did in the morning was to compose a copy of verses. When the family and guests assembled, the poem made its appearance as regularly as the eggs and rolls;⁴⁵⁾ and Mr. Gleig requires us to believe that, if from any accident Hastings came to the breakfast-table without one of his charming performances in his hand, the omission was felt by all as a grievous disappointment. Tastes differ widely. For ourselves we must say that, however good the breakfasts at Daylesford may have been,—and we are assured that the tea was of the most aromatic flavour, and that neither tongue nor venison-pasty was wanting,—we should have thought the reckoning high if we had been forced to earn our repast by listening every day to a new madrigal or sonnet composed by our host. We are glad, however, that Mr. Gleig has preserved this little feature of character, though we think it by no means a beauty. It is good to be often reminded of the inconsistency of human nature, and to learn to look without wonder or disgust on the weaknesses which are found in the strongest minds. Dīonýsius* in old times, Frederic in the last century, with capacity and vigour equal to the conduct of the greatest affairs, united all

⁴²⁾ spr. tíbet. ⁴³⁾ spr. moskètōes. ⁴⁴⁾ conservatories (Aufbewahrungsorte): Gewächshäuser. ⁴⁵⁾ rolls sind eine Art Weissbrod, „Röllchen“.

the little vanities and affectations of provincial blue-stockings. These great examples may console the admirers of Hastings for the affliction of seeing him reduced to the level of the Håylēys and Sēwwards.*

When Hastings had passed many years in retirement, and had long outlived the common age of men, he again became for a short time an object of general attention. In 1813 the charter of the East India Company was renewed; and much discussion about Indian affairs took place in Parliament. It was determined to examine witnesses at the bar of the Commons; and Hastings was ordered to attend. He had appeared at that bar once before. It was when he read his answer to the charges which Burke had laid on the table. Since that time twenty-seven years had elapsed; public feeling had undergone a complete change; the nation had now forgotten his faults, and remembered only his services. The reappearance, too, of a man who had been among the most distinguished of a generation that had passed away, who now belonged to history, and who seemed to have risen from the dead, could not but produce a solemn and pathetic effect. The Commons received him with acclamations, ordered a chair to be set for him, and when he retired, rose and uncovered. There were, indeed, a few who did not sympathise with the general feeling. One or two of the managers of the impeachment were present. They sate in the same seats which they had occupied when they had been thanked for the services which they had rendered in Westminster Hall: for, by the courtesy of the House, a member who has been thanked in his place is considered as having a right always to occupy that place. These gentlemen were not disposed to admit that they had employed several of the best years of their lives in persecuting an innocent man. They accordingly kept their seats, and pulled their hats over their brows; but the exceptions only made the prevailing enthusiasm more remarkable. The Lords received the old man with similar tokens of respect. The University of Oxford conferred on him the degree⁴⁶⁾ of Doctor of

⁴⁶⁾ Die Titel, welche die Universität verleiht (bachelor of arts, master of arts, beide an Studirende, und doctor of..., ein Ehrendiplom an solche, welche nicht der Universität angehören), werden nicht als titles, sondern als degrees, „Grade“, bezeichnet.

Laws; and, in the Sheldonian Theatre,* the undergraduates⁴⁷⁾ welcomed him with tumultuous cheering.

These marks of public esteem were soon followed by marks of royal favour. Hastings was sworn of the Privy Council, and was admitted to a long private audience of the Prince Regent, who treated him very graciously. When the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia* visited England, Hastings appeared in their train both at Oxford and in the Guildhall* of London, and, though surrounded by a crowd of princes and great warriors, was every where received by the public with marks of respect and admiration. He was presented by the Prince Regent both to Alexander and to Frederic William; and his Royal Highness went so far as to declare in public that honours far higher than a seat in the Privy Council were due, and would soon be paid, to the man who had saved the British dominions in Asia. Hastings now confidently expected a peerage; but, from some unexplained cause, he was again disappointed.

He lived about four years longer, in the enjoyment of good spirits, of faculties not impaired to any painful or degrading extent, and of health such as is rarely enjoyed by those who attain such an age. At length, on the twenty-second of August, 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, he met death with the same tranquil and decorous fortitude which he had opposed to all the trials of his various and eventful life.

With all his faults, — and they were neither few nor small, — only one cémētēry was worthy to contain his remains. In that temple of silence and reconciliation where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried, in the Great Abbey* which has during many ages afforded a quiet resting-place to those whose minds and bodies have been shattered by the contentions of the Great Hall, the dust of the illustrious accused should have mingled with the dust of the illustrious accusers. This was not to be. Yet the place of interment was not ill chosen. Behind the chancel of the parish church of Daylesford, in earth which already held the bones of many chiefs of the house of Hastings, was laid the coffin of the greatest man who has ever borne that ancient and widely extended

⁴⁷⁾ „undergraduates“ sind diejenigen Studirenden, welche noch unter dem ersten „degree“ (bachelor of arts) stehen, also „junge Studenten“.

name. On that very spot probably, four-score years before, the little Warren, meanly clad and scantily fed, had played with the children of ploughmen. Even then his young mind had revolved plans which might be called romantic. Yet, however romantic, it is not likely that they had been so strange as the truth.⁴⁸⁾ Not only had the poor orphan retrieved the fallen fortunes of his line. Not only had he repurchased the old lands, and rebuilt the old dwelling. He had preserved and extended an empire. He had founded a polity.⁴⁹⁾ He had administered government and war with more than the capacity of Richelieu.*⁵⁰⁾ He had patronised learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo.* He had been attacked by the most formidable combination of enemies that ever sought the destruction of a single victim; and over that combination, after a struggle of ten years, he had triumphed. He had at length gone down to his grave in the fulness of age, in peace, after so many troubles, in honour, after so much obloquy.

Those who look on his character without favour or malice will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtue, in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others, he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His heart was somewhat hard. But while we cannot with truth describe him either as a righteous or as a merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administration, and for controversy, his dauntless courage, his honourable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the state, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune, and never disturbed by either.

⁴⁸⁾ d. h. wie das, was er wirklich erreicht hat. ⁴⁹⁾ Ueber „polity“ siehe L. Cl. II, 7. ⁵⁰⁾ spr. ríshlū.

THE END.

Erläuterungen.

Lord Clive.

I.

- 3*. Market-Drayton liegt dicht an der Grenze von *Wales*, nordwestlich von *Stafford*.

Georg I, Kurfürst von Hannover, gelangte 1714 auf den englischen Thron und regierte bis 1727.

5. Das britisch-indische Reich zerfällt in die drei alten Präsidentschaften, welche nach ihren Hauptstädten Bombay, Madras und Calcutta genannt werden, zu denen später sechs neue Verwaltungsbezirke hinzugetreten sind. Vgl. die Einleitung.

Unter dem „prophet's gourd“ ist der Kürbis des Propheten *Jona* zu verstehen, den der Herr durch ein Wunder im Nu entstehen liess, damit er das Haupt des Propheten beschatte. *Jona* 4 v. 6.

6. Der Titel „Nabob“ (korrumpirt aus *Nuwwâb*, Abgeordneter), bezeichnete im Reiche des Grossmoguls den Verwalter einer Provinz. Der Nabob war nicht nur Chef der Verwaltung, sondern auch oberster Befehlshaber der Truppen seines Bezirkes, besass also, zumal seine Würde sich auf seine Nachkommen vererbte, eine ausgedehnte Machtvollkommenheit.

Nizam, Reichsverweser, ist der Titel des Fürsten von *Hyderabad*, dem in Decan gelegenen Theile des Reiches von Delhi. Der Nizam übte nominell seine

* Die vortretende Zahl bezeichnet die Seite, zu der die betreffenden Erläuterungen gehören.

Herrschaft aus im Namen des Grossmoguls und hatte seinerseits wieder verschiedene Nabobs unter sich, so den *Nabob von Carnatik*. Er wird von M. häufig als Vicekönig von Decan bezeichnet.

Im Jahre 1526 wurde Hindostan von dem Mongolenfürsten Baber aus dem Geschlechte *Tamerlans* (d. h. Timurs des Lahmen, der seinerseits ein Nachkomme des *Dschengis-Khan* war) nach einer blutigen Schlacht unweit Delhi allmählig erobert. Letztere Stadt selbst wurde der Sitz der Mongolenfürsten, denen die Geschichte nach dem Vorgange der Engländer die Benennung „Grossmoguln“ beilegte. Ihr eigentlicher Titel war *Shah*, das persische Wort für „König“, wie denn überhaupt das Persische Hofsprache blieb. — Vgl. auch die Einleitung.

7. Im Jahre 1857, nach der Erstürmung von Delhi durch die Engländer, wurde der letzte Grossmogul abgesetzt. Gegenwärtig existirt also ein solcher nicht mehr.
8. *Gordon* erzählt in „Wallensteins Tod“, wie Wallenstein sich für ein „begünstigt und befreites Wesen“ gehalten habe, nachdem er als zwanzigjähriger Jüngling, im Fensterbogen eingeschlummert, zwei Stock hoch niedergestürzt sei und unversehrt vom Boden sich erhoben habe. Vgl. *Wallensteins Tod*, Akt 4, Scene 2.
9. Der österreichische Erbfolgekrieg währte von 1740—1748. Georg II. von England hatte als Kurfürst von Hannover die pragmatische Sanktion und damit die Thronfolge der Maria Theresia anerkannt, Frankreich hingegen unterstützte die Ansprüche des Kurfürsten Karl Albrecht von Bayern auf die österreichischen Erblande und die deutsche Kaiserwürde.

Georg II., Sohn und Nachfolger Georgs I., regierte von 1727—1760.

Ueber Dupleix († 1773) vergleiche die Einleitung. Die hier berichteten Begebenheiten fallen in die Jahre 1746—1748.

II.

11. Der Friede zu Aachen, 1748.

Unter „the house of Tamerlane“ sind die Nachkommen Babers zu verstehen. Vgl. die vorstehende

Note über Baber. — Tamerlan hatte am Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts zum zweiten Male (der erste welterschütternde Mongolenfürst war *Dschengis-Khan* mit seinen Söhnen, im Anfange des 13. Jahrhunderts) den Namen der Mongolen furchtbar gemacht, Persien, Indien, Syrien und Kleinasien unterworfen, Russland verwüstet und die Stadt Moskau selbst erobert. Sein Reich war bald nach seinem Tode zerfallen.

12. Aurungzib (Zierde des Thrones) bestieg den Thron von Delhi, nachdem er seine beiden älteren Brüder im Kampfe überwunden und seinen Vater in seine Gewalt gebracht hatte. Er regierte als Grossmogul von 1658 bis 1707. Unter seiner Regierung erlangte das Reich von Delhi seine bedeutendste Macht und seine weiteste Ausdehnung; zugleich wurde der Islam mit schrecklichem Fanatismus verbreitet. Doch war Aurungzib in seinen Kämpfen mit den Eingeborenen nicht immer glücklich; die beabsichtigte Unterwerfung der *Mahratten* gelang ihm nicht. — Die Macht des Thrones von Delhi sank unter seinen Nachfolgern schnell.

Unter den schwachen Nachfolgern Theodosius' des Grossen (379—395) löste sich das gewaltige Reich desselben allmählig auf, indem Gallien, Spanien, die Donauprovinzen und bald auch Italien selbst von germanischen Stämmen in Besitz genommen wurden.

13. Karl der Kahle, Sohn Ludwigs des Frommen und Enkel Karls des Grossen, von 843 (*Vertrag zu Verdun*) bis 877 Beherrscher des Westreiches, war ein ganz unkriegerischer Fürst. — Karl der Dicke, Sohn Ludwigs des Deutschen und Urenkel Karls des Grossen, wurde seiner Untüchtigkeit wegen im Jahre 877 auf dem Reichstage zu *Tribur* abgesetzt. — Unter Karl dem Einfältigen († 929), einem durchaus willenslosen Monarchen, rissen sich Hoch- und Niederburgund, sowie Italien vom Reiche los, die heutige Normandie sammt der Bretagne musste (912) an die Normannen abgetreten werden.

Die Ungarn oder Magyaren waren im Anfange des 10. Jahrhunderts (bis zur Schlacht bei *Merseburg*, 933,) der Schrecken Deutschlands und Oberitaliens.

Gog und Magog sind die Namen eines Volkes (*Gog*) und dessen Fürsten (*Magog*), welche im alten Testamente

erwähnt werden (*I. Mos. 10,2; Hesekiel 38,2 und 39,6*). Im Mittelalter wurden die Namen Gog und Magog, unter denen man sich wilde Völker vorstellte, welche, vom Ende der Welt herkommend, alles vernichten würden, mit der Lehre vom Antichrist in Verbindung gebracht.

Die Saracenen beherrschten Sicilien von 878 ab, in welchem Jahre Syracus in ihre Hände fiel. Im Jahre 1072 wurde ihnen die Insel von den Normannen unter *Robert Guiscard*, dem Eroberer von ganz Süditalien, wieder entrissen.

14. Der wilde Nadir Shah von Persien ist gemeint, der im Jahre 1738, die Wirren benutzend, welche nach dem Tode Aurungzibs eintraten, Delhi eroberte und die Schätze des Grossmoguls im Werthe von 420 Millionen Mark mit sich fortführte.

Sir Thomas Roe erschien 1615 im Auftrage Jakobs I. als der erste englische Gesandte am Hofe des Grossmoguls. In Folge seiner Vermittlung legten 1620 die Engländer ihre erste ostindische Kolonie in *Surate* an.

Bernier, französischer Reisender, † 1688. (O. Jäger)

Der Pfauenthron war der prächtigste der 7 Throne des Grossmoguls. (O. Jäger)

Der Afghanenkönig Achmed griff um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts in die Streitigkeiten um den Thron von Delhi ein, welche nach dem Tode des Aurungzib eine grosse Zahl von Herrschern, von denen die meisten nach kurzer Regierung durch mörderische Hand fielen, nach einander zur Macht gelangen liessen.

Rajputana, Gebiet der Rajputen (d. h. „Königs-söhne“, vgl. *rajah*, König; sie stammen von der Kriegerkaste ab, welcher auch die Könige angehörten). Die Rajputen waren der erste einheimische Stamm, welcher nach dem Tode des Aurungzib das Joch der Mongolenherrschaft abschüttelte und seine frühere Unabhängigkeit und Organisation — Rajputana zerfiel in eine grössere Zahl getrennter Fürstenthümer — wiederherstellte.

Rohilcund, das Land der Rohillas, erstreckt sich im Norden und Osten von Delhi. Der Kampf der Rohillas um die Unabhängigkeit des Gebietes, welches ihnen „*als Speerlehen*“, wie M. sich ausdrückt, angewiesen worden war, fand statt im Jahre 1749. Sie waren ein kriegstüchtiger Volksstamm, welcher, von dem Glanze

des Thrones von Delhi angelockt, aus dem Inneren von Asien nach Indien eingewandert war, um dem Grossmogul seine Dienste anzubieten. — Das spätere Schicksal der Rohillas schildert M. in „Warren Hastings“, IV.

Die Sikhs waren ursprünglich eine religiöse Sekte, gestiftet um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts, welche den Brahmanismus, die Religion der Hindus, mit dem Islam aussöhnen wollte. Nach dem Tode des Aurungzib traten sie als Eroberer auf, wurden aber besiegt. Als darauf Achmed mit seinen Afghanen in Indien vorzudringen versuchte, stellten sie sich diesem entgegen, eroberten Lahore und wussten es dahin bringen, dass die Bewohner des Penjab zum grössten Theile freiwillig zu ihnen übertraten. Auf diese Weise bildete sich im Penjab ein mächtiges Reich der Sikhs.

Die Jauts, deutsch gewöhnlich Dschats, sind ein eingewandertes Volk Indiens, dessen Abstammung nicht mit Sicherheit ermittelt ist. Sie bekennen sich zum Jslam.

Die Jumna ist der bedeutendste Nebenfluss des Ganges. Siehe die Karte.

Die Mahratten, benannt nach der Provinz Mahrat in Decan, sind ein weitverbreiteter Volksstamm in Vorderindien, der sich durch Ausdauer in Strapazen, aber nicht minder durch wilde Grausamkeit auszeichnet. Die Sprache der Mahratten ist ein Dialekt des Sanskrit, ihre Religion der Kultus des Brahma. Im Jahre 1676 vereinigte Sewaji (*Sevajee*), ein einfacher Gutsbesitzer aber tüchtiger Krieger, sämtliche Mahratten zu einem einheitlichen Staatswesen. Bald traten die Mahratten als Eroberer auf und gründeten unter Aurungzib, besonders aber unter dessen schwachen Nachfolgern, eine Reihe von Staaten, deren Gebiet dem Mongolenreiche entrissen wurde. Im Jahre 1737 drangen sie sogar bis Delhi vor und zwangen den Grossmogul, ihnen einen jährlichen Tribut zu entrichten. (Vgl. Seite 15 und die Einleitung.)

Puna war die Hauptstadt des Gebietes des „Peshwa“ oder des ersten Ministers des Oberkönigs (Ram-Rajah), des untüchtigen Nachfolgers von Sewaji. Macaulay vergleicht die Stellung des „Peshwa“ mit der eines fränkischen Majordomus. (Siehe „Warren Hastings“, pag. 150.)

Vergleiche die Karte. Alle hier aufgeführten Mahrattenreiche waren früher Theile des Reiches von Delhi gewesen. — Tanjore liegt im Süden von Carnatic.

15. Lucknow ist die Residenz des Nabobs von Audh, Hyderabad die des Vicekönigs (Nizam) von Decan. Beide Machthaber hatten unter den schwachen Nachfolgern des Aurungzib ihr Verhältniss zum Throne von Delhi derart gelockert, dass sie nur noch den Schein einer Abhängigkeit beibehielten.

Kabul ist die nordöstliche Provinz des persischen Reiches.

16. Die Provinz Chorazan umfasst den nordwestlichen Theil des persischen Reiches. — Von hier aus drang Baber in Indien ein.

Hydaspes ist der altgriechische Name des *Jalum*, des westlichsten der fünf Flüsse des Penjab.

Ava, die Hauptstadt des birmanischen Reiches in Hinterindien, liegt am Jrawadi. Ihr heutiger Name ist Ratanapura, Stadt der Kleinodien.

Candahar ist ein Khanat im westlichen Afghanistan mit gleichnamiger Hauptstadt.

Der tapfere und talentvolle Marschall von Sachsen, der die französischen Truppen zum Siege von Fontenoy (1745) führte, ist gemeint. Friedrich der Grosse und der Marschall von Sachsen waren Zeitgenossen von Dupleix. M. sagt also, die beiden grössten Feldherrn der damaligen Zeit würden stolz gewesen sein auf solche Heere.

18. Arcot, die Hauptstadt von Carnatic, ist zugleich die Residenz des Nabobs dieser Provinz.

Edmund Burke: Vergleiche „*Warren Hastings*“, VI.; sowie die betr. Erläuterung zu Seite 178.

19. Pondichery, an der Küste Coromandel in Carnatic gelegen, befindet sich bereits seit 1672 im Besitze der Franzosen.

III.

22. Vellore liegt in Carnatic, westlich von Madras. Den Schauplatz der Kämpfe, welche das laufende Kapitel schildert, führt das eine der Nebenkärtchen uns vor.

Wie die 10. Legion sich durch persönliche Anhänglichkeit an Cäsar auszeichnete, so konnte Napoleon auf die Ergebenheit und Standhaftigkeit seiner alten Garde (3 Regimenter Grenadiere und 2 Regimenter Jäger) unbedingt bauen. Musterhafte Führung und Beweise von persönlicher Tapferkeit bahnten den Weg in diese Musterregimenter.

23. Nachdem der Chalif Ali im Jahre 40 der Flucht, d. h. 661 nach unsrer Zeitrechnung, durch die Hand eines Verschworenen gefallen war, entspann sich zwischen seinem Sohne Hosein (oder Husein) und dem Statthalter Moawija, dem Omajjaden („*the tyrant*“, Seite 24), ein erbitterter Kampf, welcher 680 mit der Schlacht bei *Kerbela* in Persien endigte. Hosein wurde geschlagen und kam mit seinen beiden kleinen Söhnen auf grausame Weise ums Leben. Dieses tragische Ende des Vaters mit seinen Söhnen giebt Anlass, den *10. Muharrem* (5. Februar) — auf diesen Tag des Jahres 680 fällt das Ereigniss — besonders festlich zu begehen. Die Schiiten, d. h. der Zweig der Mohamedaner, welcher Ali, den Schwiegersohn des Propheten, fast mehr noch verehrt, als diesen selbst, feiern dieses Fest durch pomphafte Schaustellungen, die das Ende Hoseins und seiner Söhne vorführen. Die Ekstase, zu der sich der Fanatismus der Zuschauer bei dieser Gelegenheit steigert, erregt noch heute das Erstaunen jedes Reisenden.

Fatima, die Lieblingstochter des Propheten, war vermählt mit Ali. Unter den Fatimiden sind diejenigen Mohamedaner zu verstehen, welche die Nachkommen der Fatima als die einzig berechtigten Nachfolger des Mohamed ansehen. (Man bezeichnet mit diesem Namen auch speciell die Dynastie, welche vom Anfange des 10. Jahrhunderts bis auf Saladin, 1171, in Egypten herrschte.)

24. Houris (Huris) ist bei den Mohamedanern der Name der mit unvergleichlichen Reizen ausgestatteten Jungfrauen, welche nach dem Tode den Seligen das Paradies versüssen. Jeder erhält deren 725.
27. „Captain Bobadil“ ist eine komische Figur in Ben Johnson's Lustspiele „*Every man in his humour*“.

IV.

31. Der Protest gegen eine Parlamentswahl erfolgt in Form einer Petition, und zwar hat jeder Petent £ 1000, gleich 20,000 Rm. Kautions zu stellen. Im Falle einer „petition“ sucht jede Partei durch Bestechung der Presse, renommirter Pamphletisten und einflussreicher Privatpersonen die öffentliche Meinung zu ihren Gunsten zu stimmen.

Jakobiten heissen die Anhänger des 1689 vertriebenen Königs Jacobs II. und seiner Nachfolger, d. h. seines Sohnes Jacobs III. und des Prätendenten Karl Eduard Stuart. Der letzte Aufstand der Jakobiten zu Gunsten des letztgenannten Sprosses des Hauses Stuart wurde 1746 durch die Schlacht bei *Culloden* niedergeworfen.

Frederic, Prince of Wales. ältester Sohn von Georg II., hatte aus Hass gegen seinen Vater einen Bund mit der Opposition im Parlamente geschlossen. Er starb im Jahre 1751.

Der Herzog von Newcastle stand von 1754—61 an der Spitze eines Whig-Ministeriums. Die eigentliche Seele dieses Ministeriums war von 1756 ab *William Pitt, der Ältere*.

Henry Fox, später Baron Holland, ist der Vater von Charles James Fox, dem berühmten Staatsmann und Redner, dem Gegner des jüngeren Pitt, der im Prozesse gegen Warren Hastings zu den Anklägern (*managers*) gehörte.

Der Secretary at War hat die Armeeinteressen vor dem Parlamente zu vertreten. Einen eigentlichen Kriegsminister (*Secretary for War*) giebt es erst seit 1854, bis dahin stand der „Secretary at War“ unter dem Kolonialminister (*Secretary for the Colonial Department*).

Die Verwaltung der Finanzen liegt in den Händen der (5) *Lord Commissioners of the Treasury*. Zwei derselben haben Sitz und Stimme im Ministerrathe (*Cabinet*): der First Lord of the Treasury, der zugleich Premierminister ist, und der Chancellor of the Exchequer, der eigentliche Finanzminister, der dritte im Range der Minister.

32. Unter den „wretched Cornish boroughs“ sind die „rotten boroughs“, zu verstehen, welche einen Ver-

treter ins Parlament entsandten, obgleich die Ausübung des Wahlrechtes in den Händen weniger Grundbesitzer lag. Es war natürlich leicht, diese wenigen Stimmen für einen bestimmten Kandidaten zu erkaufen, und diese Art der Bestechung, bei der die eine Partei die andere zu überbieten suchte, war allmählig zur Gewohnheit geworden. — Durch die Reformakte vom Jahre 1832 wurde den „rotten boroughs“ ihre Berechtigung zur Wahl eines Abgeordneten für das Unterhaus entzogen.

Sir Robert Walpole (1676—1745), unter Georg I. und Georg II. Kanzler der Schatzkammer (vergl. die letzte Erläuterung zu Seite 31), hat sich als Staats- und Finanzmann berühmt gemacht. Von der Tory-Partei wurde er heftig angefeindet und nicht mit Unrecht der Bestechlichkeit beschuldigt. — Der bekannte Dichter Horace Walpole ist sein Sohn.

33. Der Herzog von Cumberland, dritter Sohn Georgs II., war der Sieger bei Culloden (siehe oben, unter: *Jakobiten*) und Führer der englischen Truppen im Siebenjährigen Kriege. — Vgl. auch Seite 61.

V.

Gheriah ist ein befestigter Platz an der Küste Malabar.

34. Als „shrines“ (deutsch: *Schreine*) werden bezeichnet nicht nur die zur Aufbewahrung von Reliquien dienenden Schreine, die Reliquienkästchen, sondern fernerhin auch alle diejenigen Gegenstände, welche die religiöse Verehrung herausfordern, also alle Heiligthümer.

Loom, ursprünglich „Werkzeug“, ging im späteren Mittelalter in Folge der Ausdehnung und Bedeutung, welche die Tuchfabrikation in England gewann, in die specielle Bedeutung „Webstuhl“ über.

35. Doch müssen wir, um ein wahrheitsgetreues Gesamtbild von den Bengali zu haben, hinzufügen, dass sie sehr kulturfähig sind und Sinn für Schulbildung wie für die Vortheile der Tagespresse beweisen. Die *Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* zählt mehrere Bengali, die als Orientalisten hervorragen, zu ihren Mitgliedern.

Chandernagore ist eine französische Kolonie am Hugly, dem westlichsten der Ausflüsse des Ganges, nördlich von Calcutta.

Chowringhee, ehemalige Vorstadt von Calcutta, ist jetzt mit der Stadt selbst vollständig verschmolzen.

Die Provinzen Orissa und Bahar waren früher mit der Nabobie Bengalen vereinigt und bilden auch jetzt Theile der englischen Präsidentschaft Bengalen.

38. Dante, Inferno, 33. Der florentinische Graf Ugolino war von dem Bischof Ruggieri mit seinen beiden Söhnchen in einen festen Thurm eingesperrt, um hier den Hungertod zu erleiden. Er erzählt dem Dichter die Schrecken, welche er hier erlebte.
39. Murshedabad, die Residenz des Nabobs von Bengalen, liegt am Hugly, nördlich von *Plassey*.
40. Die Stadt Hugly liegt nördlich von *Chinsurah*, am Flusse desselben Namens.

Der Siebenjährige Krieg ist gemeint, in welchem Ludwig XV. auf die Seite Oesterreichs trat, während Georg II. ein Bündniss mit Friedrich dem Grossen schloss.

47. Odds, das Substantiv zu odd (*uugrade, überzählig, ungewöhnlich, seltsam*), ist wie news (= *Neu-es*) ein Kollektiv und kann zugleich als Singular und als Plural angesehen werden. Es wird in der Regel abgeleitet von einem nordischen Worte „odd“, der *Punkt*, und erklärt als „having one point over.“

Ordnance ist Nebenform zu *ordinance*, frz. *ordonnance*. Schon das französische Wort fand vorzugsweise für militärische Anordnungen Verwendung. In England wurde *Ordnance-Office* (vergl. „to ordain“, anordnen) die Bezeichnung des *Feldzeugamtes*, also des Amtes, dem die militärischen Magazine unterstellt sind. Hieraus ist es zu erklären, dass „a piece of ordnance“ die Benennung eines schweren Geschützes wurde.

48. Die Schlacht bei Plassey fand statt am 23. Juni 1757.
50. Der berühmte Staatsmann und Geschichtsschreiber Machiavelli lebte von 1469—1527 in Florenz. Sein Ideal eines Fürsten war Caesar Borgia, welcher ohne Rücksicht auf Sittlichkeit und Religion nur das eine politische Ziel verfolgte, den Staat sich willenlos gefügig zu machen. — In seinem Buche „*Il Principe*“ hat M. seine Maxime mit vortrefflichem Geschick begründet und in System gebracht. — Man spricht noch jetzt von *Machiavellismus*, *macchiavellistischen Ideen* u. s. w.

53. John Churchill, Herzog von Marlborough, ist der bekannte englische Feldherr, welcher im Verein mit dem Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen die Baiern bei *Donauwörth* (1704) und die Franzosen in demselben Jahre bei *Blenheim*, später (1709) bei *Oudenarde* und bei *Malplaquet* schlug. Er hinterliess ein Vermögen von 15,000,000 Francs.

Der britische Admiral Nelson überwand die französische Flotte bei *Abukir* in Nieder-Egypten (1. Aug. 1798) und die vereinigten Flotten der Franzosen und Spanier bei *Trafalgar* (21. Oct. 1805). In letzterer Schlacht verlor er sein Leben.

Arthur Wellesley, Herzog von Wellington und Fürst von Waterloo, hat sich berühmt gemacht durch seine glückliche Kriegführung gegen die Franzosen in Spanien (1808—1814), besonders aber durch seine Theilnahme an der Schlacht bei *Waterloo*. Er starb im Jahre 1852. — Nelson und Wellington sind die gefeiertsten Nationalhelden der Engländer. Die Krypta unter der St. Pauls Kirche, in welcher sie beigesetzt sind, ist dem Andenken an diese beiden Helden gewidmet. Sie beherbergt eine Menge Denkwürdigkeiten, welche zu denselben in Beziehung stehen, und wird von Tausenden von Fremden besucht.

54. Das „statute-book“ ist die Sammlung der gesammten Parlamentsbeschlüsse, also das geschriebene englische Landrecht.
55. Audh, seit 1856 eine Provinz des indo-britischen Reiches, war bis dahin nominell ein Vasallenstaat des Reiches von Delhi.
57. Shah Alum II. hatte im Jahre 1759, noch zu Lebzeiten seines Vaters, des regierenden Grossmoguls *Alum Ghir II.* (eines willenlosen Werkzeuges in den Händen seines Schatzmeisters, durch den er auch 1760 aus dem Wege geräumt wurde), in Bahar die kaiserliche Würde angenommen. Unter ihm erreichte die Herrschaft der Grossmoguln mit der Einnahme Delhis durch die Engländer (1788) ihr eigentliches Ende. Bis zum Jahre 1857 bezogen die Schattenfürsten auf dem Thron von Delhi noch ein Jahresgehalt von England und genossen Hofehren in ihrer Hauptstadt, in diesem Jahre endlich beseitigte man den Grossmogul definitiv.

59. Batavia, auf *Java* gelegen, ist die Hauptstadt sämtlicher Besitzungen der Holländer in Indien und den indischen Gewässern.

VI.

60. Georg III., Enkel Georgs II., bestieg den Thron im Jahre 1760 und regierte bis 1820. Während der letzten 20 Jahre seines Lebens litt er an einer unheilbaren Geistesstörung, zu der sich schliesslich noch eine gänzliche Erblindung gesellte.

61. William Pitt (der Aeltere), Graf von Chatham, hatte sich als Führer der Opposition im Parlamente durch seine Beredtsamkeit hervorgethan und wurde 1758 ins Ministerium berufen. Seinem Einflusse ist es zuzuschreiben, dass England für Friedrich den Grossen kräftig Partei ergriff. — Von 1766—1768 stand Pitt an der Spitze eines Whig-Ministeriums. — Siehe die betr. Note auf pag 231.

Der englische General James Wolfe war am 12. September 1759 in der Schlacht bei Quebec (während des siebenjährigen Amerikanischen Krieges zwischen Franzosen und Engländern) siegend gefallen.

Vergl. die betr. Note auf pag. 232.

Ferdinand von Braunschweig besiegte mit den verbündeten Engländern und Braunschweigern die Franzosen bei Minden am 1. August 1759, und bei Warburg in Westfalen am 31. Juli 1760.

62. Vgl. Seite 31.

George Grenville, der Torypartei angehörend, trat 1763 an die Spitze eines neuen Ministeriums. Seine wichtigste Massregel ist die Durchsetzung der *Stempel-tax*, welche den ersten Widerstand der amerikanischen Kolonien hervorrief.

John Wilkes, ein engl. Publicist, welcher sich durch seine Opposition gegen die Politik des Hofes missliebig gemacht hatte, wurde wegen seiner Schmähungen und wegen seiner anstössigen Schriften aus dem Parlamente gestossen. Im Jahre 1768 trat er wieder als Kandidat auf, wurde viermal nach einander gewählt und ebenso oft von der Regierung und vom Unterhause zurückgewiesen. Der Streit über die Zulässigkeit dieses Ver-

fahrens beschäftigte ganz England viele Jahre hindurch, bis endlich, im Jahre 1782, der Beschluss des Unterhauses, durch welchen Wilkes ausgestossen worden war, aus den Akten entfernt wurde. Diese Angelegenheit bildet einen der Hauptgegenstände der berühmten *Juniusbriefe*. — Schon im Jahre 1764 war Wilkes im Widerspruch zu der Habeascorpus-Akte verhaftet, von den Gerichten aber freigesprochen worden.

Horace Walpole ist einer der geistreichsten Brief- und Memoirenschriftsteller Englands. Er starb 1790. — Vgl. die betr. Erläuterung auf pag. 232.

63. Diese Anomalie wurde im Jahre 1858, in welchem die britisch-ostindischen Besitzungen unmittelbar unter die Verwaltung der Krone gestellt wurden, abgeschafft. Sie bestand also zur Zeit der Abfassung unseres *Essay* (1840) allerdings noch.

Das Kontrolbüreau, bestehend aus drei Ministern und einem Präsidenten, wurde im Jahre 1784 der Parlamentsakte eingesetzt. Es bildete die staatliche Aufsichtsbehörde über die Verwaltung des britisch-ostindischen Gebietes. Die Verwaltung selbst lag (bis 1858) naturgemäss in den Händen des Besitzers dieses Gebietes, d. h. der Kompagnie.

In dem „Court of Proprietors,“ dem *weiteren Verwaltungsrathe*, war jeder Besitzer einer Aktie von £ 500 stimmberechtigt.

M. denkt an die Westminster-Wahl von 1780, aus der trotz aller ministeriellen Gegenbestrebungen Charles James Fox (vgl. die betr. Erläuterung auf pag. 231.) siegreich hervorging.

Grampound gehörte zu den „rotten boroughs“. Vgl. pag. 231, unten.

64. „The boards of revenue“ sind die Steuerämter. — Beachtenswerth ist, dass die Parlamentsredner sich befleissigen, das Wort „rēvénue“ zu sprechen, während man sonst *révenue* hört. Vgl. *Hoppe, Supplement-Lexikon*.

Sudder Courts ist die Bezeichnung sämtlicher Civilgerichtshöfe in Indien, den höchsten Gerichtshof in Calcutta mit eingeschlossen. Sudder ist ein indisches Wort; sudder-aumeen ist die Bezeichnung eines eingeborenen ostindischen Richters.

In „Leadenhall Street,“ im Osten der *City of London* gelegen, befindet sich das „*India House*“, das Verwaltungsgebäude der ostindischen Handelskompagnie.

Pigot, ein Zeitgenosse von Clive, war Gouverneur von Madras.

Der „*Earl of Bath*“ und der „*Marquis of Rockingham*“ gehörten zu den begütertsten englischen Grossen. Letzterer stand 1782 an der Spitze des Ministeriums.

Das Jahr 1720 ist gemeint, so benannt nach der *Südsee-Kompagnie*. Diese, im Jahre 1719 mit dem Monopol des spanischen Handels ausgestattet, erzeugte bei der Regierung wie beim Volke durch Vorspiegelung glänzenden Gewinnes einen ähnlichen Spekulationswindel, wie der Schotte Law unter den Franzosen. Schon nach wenigen Monaten ihres Bestehens erfolgte der Zusammenbruch dieser Gesellschaft.

Der Hof der Direktoren (*Court of Directors*), der *engere Verwaltungsrath*, bestand aus 24 (seit 1854 aus 18) Mitgliedern, welche aus der Zahl der Inhaber von mindestens 4 Aktien zu je £ 500 gewählt wurden. Die Beschlüsse dieses Rathes bedurften, bevor sie rechtskräftig wurden, der Genehmigung des *Board of Control*.

65. Mexico wurde nach seiner Eroberung durch *Ferdinand Cortez* (1519—21) in ein spanisches Vicekönigreich umgestaltet. Die Vicekönige, mit je fünfjähriger Amtsgewalt ausgestattet, sogen drei Jahrhunderte hindurch das Land in rücksichtslosester Weise aus und knechteten das Volk zu gänzlicher Unwissenheit und Unmündigkeit in staatlicher und kirchlicher Beziehung.

68. Mess-room (frz. *mets*, „Speise“) ist die Bezeichnung des Speisesaales.

Cabal (frz. *cabale*, von einem hebräischen Worte *kabbalâ*, Benennung der auf Offenbarung und Tradition beruhenden rabbinischen Geheimweisheit, welche allein die richtige Auslegung des alten Testaments lehren soll) bezeichnet im Englischen in der Regel eine Anzahl Personen, welche sich zur Erreichung eines geheimen Zweckes eng verbunden haben; daneben aber auch das geheime Treiben derselben, die Intrigue.

Verres ist berüchtigt in Folge der *Erpressungen und Plünderungen*, welche er sich als Statthalter von Sicilien 73—70 v. Chr.) zu Schulden kommen liess. Er zog

sich eine Anklage von Seiten der Siculer zu, welche von Cicero übernommen und durch die Verrinischen Reden siegreich ausgefochten wurde.

Pizarro, 1478—1541, in seiner Jugend Schweinehirt, wurde später *Entdecker und Eroberer von Peru*. Verrath und Grausamkeit waren seine Hauptwaffen. Seine Goldgier erzeugte unter den Eroberern selbst einen Krieg, in welchem die schmachvollsten Gräueltaten begangen wurden.

VII.

70. Der Rath (Council) ist die im Jahre 1758 eingesetzte Verwaltungsbehörde (vgl. Seite 56, oben), welche aus 10 Mitgliedern bestand.
72. Der Vergleich hätte nicht geschickter gewählt werden können. Die Prokonsuln, Proprätoren und Prokuratoren waren *de facto* unabhängige Verwaltungsbeamte der Provinzen. Welchen Titel sie auch führten, sie sogen unter jedem Titel die Provinzen aus.
75. Ricimer, ein weströmischer Heerführer, Sohn eines suevischen Häuptlings und einer Tochter des Westgothenkönigs Wallia, stürzte den schwachen König *Avitus* (457), erhob erst nach einander zwei seiner Freunde, dann (465) sich selbst und endlich (467) seinen nachherigen Schwiegervater Anthemius auf den Thron, den er im Jahre 472 nach dreimonatlicher Belagerung Roms wieder absetzte und ermorden liess.

Odoaker, ein deutscher Heerführer, machte im Jahre 476 dem weströmischen Reiche ein Ende, nachdem er den Feldherrn *Orestes*, den Vater des Königs *Romulus Augustulus* besiegt und letzteren zur Abdankung genöthigt hatte.

Theodorich, der Ostgothe, machte der Herrschaft des *Odoaker*, den er 489 bei *Verona* besiegte und 493 mit eigener Hand niederstiess, ein Ende. — Schon Odoaker hatte sich vom oströmischen Kaiser *Zeno* mit dem weströmischen Reiche belehnen lassen.

Chilperich und Childerich waren Könige aus dem Hause der Merovinger, welche von ihren Hausmaiern (*majores domus*) vollständig abhängig waren.

Karl Martel, der mächtige Majordomus, der Sieger bei *Tours* und *Poitiers* (732), setzte Könige ab und ein. Unter seinem Sohne *Pipin* (dem Kleinen) ging endlich die Königswürde auf die Linie der Hausmaier über.

76. *Rajah* (lat. *rex, regis*) ist die Bezeichnung eines einheimischen indischen Fürsten; *maharajah*, d. h. Grossfürst, ist derjenige *Rajah*, dem andere Fürsten untergeben sind. — Benares bildete mit seinem Gebiete einen Distrikt der Provinz *Andh*, gehörte also zum Reiche von Delhi. Vom Jahre 1765 ab musste der *Rajah* von B. einen jährlichen Tribut an den *Nabob Vizier* zahlen, aber schon im Jahre 1775 sah sich dieser genöthigt, alle seine Ansprüche an Benares den Briten abzutreten, die bis zum Jahre 1871 den *Rajah* als Scheinfürsten bestehen liessen. — Die Stadt Benares gilt den Hindus als heilige Stadt. Die Zahl der Pilger, welche aus ganz Indien hier zusammenströmen, um in dem heiligen Wasser des Ganges die vorgeschriebenen Waschungen vorzunehmen, beläuft sich an den Festtagen auf Hunderttausende. Die Treppen, welche vom hohen Ufer des Ganges zum Flusse hinabführen (*Ghats* genannt), sind beständig mit Gruppen von Männern, Weibern und Kindern besetzt.

VIII.

77. In dem „India House“, dem Verwaltungsgebäude der Ostindischen Kompagnie, finden die Sitzungen des Direktorenhofes und die Versammlungen der Aktionäre (*Court of Proprietors*) statt. Vergl. pag. 237, oben.
78. Die Generalpächter der Steuern unter *Ludwig XV.* und ihre blutsaugenden Unterbeamten, in der Regel Leute niederen Standes, die aber in kurzer Zeit gewaltige Reichtümer aufzuhäufen wussten, konnten dem Adel, welcher Steuerfreiheit genoss, nichts anhaben. Die Geldaristokratie der Generalpächter wurde von der Adelsaristokratie natürlich nicht als ebenbürtig angesehen.
- Unter den „Jacobins,“ (Jakobiner) sind die Gesinnungsgenossen des demokratisch-revolutionären Jakobinerklubs zu verstehen.
79. Das „Domesday Book“ oder „Doomsday Book“ (*Buch des Gerichtshofes*, zu „doomsday“ *Gerichtstag*) ist

das älteste englische Grundbuch, zugleich eines der ältesten englischen Rechts- und Geschichtsdenkmäler. Um 1080 auf Veranlassung Wilhelms des Eroberers angelegt, enthält es ein ausführliches Verzeichniss der Landbesitzungen in den einzelnen Gauen, nebst der Zahl der Einwohner derselben nach Stand und Vermögen. Es wurden auf Grundlage dieser Statistik die Rechte und Pflichten der einzelnen Stände und Bezirke bestimmt.

Turcaret ist die Hauptfigur eines gleichnamigen Lustspieles von *Lesage*. Dieser Typus wurde so volksthümlich, dass Turcaret bald populäre Bezeichnung jedes Halsabschneiders war.

Nero (54—68), Sohn der *Agrippina*, war der gemeinste und grausamste unter den Herrschern Roms.

„Monsieur Jourdain“ ist die Hauptfigur in Molière's Lustspiel „*Le bourgeois gentilhomme*“: Der Emporkömmling Jourdain sucht sich auf die einfältigste Weise, durch lächerliche Nachäffung von Aeusserlichkeiten, die Würde eines Edelmannes zu geben.

Richard III. (1483—85) aus dem Hause *York*, eine schrankenlos ehrgeizige, vor keinem Verbrechen zurückschreckende Natur, bahnte sich durch die Ermordung seiner jungen Neffen Eduard und Richard, der Söhne Eduards IV., den Weg zum Throne, fiel aber nach kurzer Regierung in der Schlacht bei *Bosworth*, die er gegen *Heinrich* (VII.) vom Hause *Lancaster* verlor.

Die Puritaner, so genannt, weil sie gegenüber der Staatskirche die evangelische Reinheit (lat. *puritas*) der Lehre verfochten, waren die Hauptfeinde der Stuarts. Auf diese, in Sachen des Staates wie der Religion demokratisch gesinnte Partei stützte sich *Cromwell*. Nach der Restauration erhob sich ein Sturm gegen ihre finstere, der Kunst und dem Genuss abgeneigte Lebensanschauung, welche während der Zeit der Republik in religiösem Fanatismus jede freie Bewegung mit der Macht des Schwertes zurückgedrängt hatte.

Die Restauration der Stuarts (*Karl II.*) fand statt im Jahre 1660.

80. Der Schauspieler und Lustspieldichter Samuel Foote gründete 1747 das *Haymarket Theatre* im Westend von London. Er starb 1777.

Das Wort „pandar“ (oder „pander“), Kuppler, wird von den engl. Etymologen in der Regel auf Pandarus, den Kuppler in der Erzählung von *Troilus und Cressida*, zurückgeführt.

Henry Mackenzie, ein englischer Belletrist (1745 bis 1831), ist am bedeutendsten in seinen mit Witz und Humor geschriebenen Novellen, die er in seinen Zeitschriften „*The Mirror*“ und „*The Lounger*“ veröffentlichte.

William Cowper (1731—1800) ist ein hervorragender englischer Dichter, der, von Natur ohne Selbstvertrauen, in seinen späteren Jahren in religiöse Schwermuth und endlich in gänzliche Geistesverwirrung versank. Seine besten Leistungen sind die komische Ballade „*John Gilpin*“ und die Dichtung „*The Task*.“

Unter den „*Hebrew Poets*“ sind die Psalmendichter des Alten Testaments zu verstehen.

81. Berkeley Square ist ein freier Platz in London, im Osten der City gelegen.

Das Lustschloss Claremont in der Grafschaft Surrey, 25 Kilometer von London entfernt, war später Wohnsitz des Prinzen Leopold von Sachsen-Koburg, des nachherigen Königs der Belgier, der es im Jahre 1848 seinem Schwiegervater, dem entthronten Ludwig Philipp, zur Verfügung stellte. Dieser starb hier 1850, seine Gemahlin 1866. Mehrere Kongresse der Orleanisten sind seither dort abgehalten worden.

Margery Mushroom ist die Frau des Nabobs, den Mackenzie in der auf Seite 80 von Macaulay ange deuteten Novelle schildert. Mushroom (frz. *mousseron*, zu „*mousse*“, Moos) ist übrigens im Volksmunde die Bezeichnung eines Emporkömmlings.

Die Sybariten, d. h. die Bewohner von Sybaris, einer reichen griechischen Kolonie in Lukanien, am Meerbusen von Tarent, waren im Alterthum wegen ihrer Prachtliebe und ihres Wohllebens bekannt.

Samuel Johnson, der Satiriker (1709—1784), war ein Zeitgenosse Clive's. Er ist der Herausgeber der Zeitschriften „*The Rambler*“ und „*The Idler*“, ferner der Verfasser der „*Lives of the most eminent English poets*“ und eines „*Dictionary of the English language*“, welches als die Grundlage aller späteren von Engländern

zusammengestellten Wörterbücher der engl. Sprache anzusehen ist.

Es wird der berühmte Arzt John Brown, der Begründer der nach ihm benannten Heilmethode — (*Brownianismus*: Leben ist Erregung, hervorgebracht durch die Einwirkung von Reizen auf die angeborene Erregbarkeit; jede Krankheit entsteht durch einen Mangel an Reizen oder durch ein Uebermaass der Reizung, und ist daher ein fehlerhafter Zustand der Erregung: der Normalgrad muss hergestellt werden) — gemeint sein. Derselbe gerieth nach Beendigung seiner medicinischen Studien in Edinburg (1763) in die äusserste Noth und mag in dieser Zeit von Clive in der angegebenen Weise beschäftigt worden sein.

82. S. S., die Abkürzung für *sacro-sanctus*, ist hier offenbar ein ironischer Zusatz.

83. Adam Smith, seit 1751 Professor der Philosophie in Glasgow, später vielfach umherreisend, ist der Begründer der Volkswirthschaftslehre. Sein Hauptwerk ist: *Inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*.

84. Vgl. die Erl. zu William Pitt, pag. 235. An der Spitze des Ministeriums stehend (1766—68), bildete Lord Chatham verschiedene umfassende Reformpläne, unter anderen auch den, die indischen Besitzungen von der Kompagnie an die Krone zu übertragen. — Der Bruch zwischen Pitt und dem grösseren Theile der Whigpartei, welcher 1761 seinen Austritt aus dem Ministerium veranlasst hatte, war eine Folge von Pitt's energischer Kontinentalpolitik (gegen Frankreich und zu Gunsten Preussens).

Aus der „Middlesex election“ ging Wilkes hervor. Vgl. pag. 235.

Ueber George Grenville siehe Seite 62 und die betr. Erl. zu derselben.

85. Lord Rockingham war der Nachfolger von Grenville als Chef des Ministeriums. Wie sein Vorgänger, so konnte auch er sich nicht lange auf seinem Posten behaupten, da seine torystisch-konservativen Ansichten in Betreff der Behandlung der Kolonien mit der allgemeinen Volksmeinung zu wenig harmonirten.

87. Eduard I. von England (1272—1307) benutzte die Gelegenheit der Erledigung des schottischen Thrones im Jahre 1286, um die bestrittene Lehnsherrlichkeit über Schottland fest zu begründen. Der von ihm erwählte Thronerbe John Baliol hatte die Ansprüche Eduards anerkannt. Da trat Robert Bruce der Jüngere, Enkel von Robert Bruce dem Älteren, dem Nebenbuhler von Baliol, an die Spitze des schottischen Adels, liess sich zum Könige krönen und vollendete die Befreiung seines Vaterlandes durch die siegreiche Schlacht bei *Bannockburn* (1314).

Moritz, von 1541—1553 Herzog von Sachsen, wird hier „*Befreier Deutschlands*“ genannt, weil er durch die Erzwingung des Passauer Vertrages (1552) die Freiheit des deutschen Reiches und der deutschen Kirche wiederhergestellt hatte.

Wilhelm von Oranien, Begründer der niederländischen Unabhängigkeit, 1533—84.

Unter „*Murray the good regent*“ ist Jakob Stuart, Graf von Murray, zu verstehen, welcher nach der Thronentsagung der Maria Stuart, seiner Halbschwester, für den minderjährigen Sohn derselben, Jakob (VI.), die Regentschaft von Schottland übernahm (1567—69).

Cosmo von Medici stand von 1429—64 an der Spitze der florentinischen Republik. Glückliche und glänzende Staatsverwaltung, Liebe zu Kunst und Wissenschaft, edle Freigebigkeit und wahre Humanität trugen ihm den Beinamen „*Vater des Vaterlandes*“ ein.

Heinrich IV. von Frankreich, erster und bester Herrscher aus dem Hause Bourbon, regierte von 1589 bis 1610.

Peter der Grosse von Russland, 1689—1725.

Unter dem Ministerium des Lord North, 1770—82, fand der unglückliche Kampf gegen die amerikanischen Kolonien statt. — Ihm folgte der jüngere Pitt.

88. Der Bath-Orden, im Range der vierte Orden der Krone Grossbritanniens, wurde 1399 von Heinrich IV. gestiftet. Der Name rührt her von dem, der Aufnahme ursprünglich vorangehenden symbolischen Ritus des Bades.

Die Kapelle Heinrichs VII. ist ein von diesem Monarchen erbauter Theil der Westminster-Abtei. Hier finden die feierlichen Aufnahmen in die Reichsorden statt.

„Open questions“ sind solche Fragen, in Betreff derer der Einzelne nach seiner persönlichen Ueberzeugung stimmt, zu denen also nicht jede der parlamentarischen Parteien als geschlossene Körperschaft einheitliche Stellung genommen hat.

Das englische Recht kennt keinen Staatsanwalt: ein jeder hat das ihm bekannt gewordene Verbrechen entweder selbst oder durch Vermittlung eines Anwaltes zur Kenntniss der Richter zu bringen. Der Attorney-General ist daher nicht Ober-Staatsanwalt, sondern erster Anwalt des Monarchen, der Krone. Neben dem Attorney-General hat die Krone noch zwei weitere Rechtsbeistände, die ihre Interessen den Gerichten gegenüber zu wahren haben, den Solicitor-General und den Queen's Advocate.

89. Jenkinson ist bekannter unter seinem späteren Namen „Lord Liverpool“. Er stand in den ersten Regierungsjahren Georgs III. an der Spitze der „*Königsfreunde*“, welche die Politik dieses Monarchen, die darauf ausging, die Macht und den Einfluss der Krone auf Kosten der Befugnisse des Parlamentes zu vermehren, unterstützte.

Die Regierung Ludwigs XV. von Frankreich (1715 bis 1774) überbrückt die Kluft zwischen den nach Aussen hin glänzenden, im Inneren ungesunden Zuständen unter Ludwig XIV. und der Katastrophe unter dem unglücklichen Ludwig XVI. (1774—93).

Während Clive's Sieg bei Plassey (1757) den Engländern die Herrschaft über Bengalen eintrug, bestätigte die, wenige Jahre später erfolgende Besiegung der Franzosen unter Lally, dem Gouverneur von Pondichery (bei Wandiwash, 1760, durch Colonel Coote), endgültig die Ueberlegenheit der Engländer auch im Süden Indiens.

Voltaire, † 1778, brachte die letzten zwanzig Jahre seines Lebens auf dem Schlosse Fernay in der Nähe von Genf zu.

90. Dr. Moore (Edward, nicht Sir Thomas Moore) ist ein englischer Lustspieldichter aus dem vorigen Jahrhundert,
91. Ghisni, früher eine starke Festung, fiel 1839 in die Hände der Engländer, welche im Jahre 1842 die Festungswerke schleiften.
92. Ludwig von Bourbon, Prinz von Condé, „der grosse Condé“ genannt, war einer der grössten Feldherrn

Ludwigs XIV. Er besiegte die Spanier bei Rocroi in den Niederlanden im Jahre 1643.

Das Heer der Russen, welches Karl XII. von Schweden im Jahre 1700 bei Narwa besiegte, war zehnmal stärker als sein eigenes, das aus nur 8000 Mann bestand.

Alexanders Sieg über die Perser am Flusse Granicus in Kleinasien fällt in das Jahr 334.

Via sacra („*The Sacred Way*“) ist der Name einer der Hauptstrassen Roms. Durch diese bewegte sich der Triumphzug eines siegreichen Feldherrn.

„Forum“ bezeichnet einen öffentlichen Platz, der entweder für gerichtliche Handlungen (*Forum civile*) oder für Handel und Verkehr (*Forum venale*) bestimmt war. Hier ist das „Forum Romanum“, das älteste und grösste der Fora in Rom gemeint.

Unter dem „threshold of Tarpeian Jove“ ist die Schwelle des Jupitertempels auf dem kapitolinischen Hügel zu verstehen. Der tarpejische Fels, von welchem die Verbrecher und Vaterlandsverräther hinabgestürzt wurden, bildete die Südspitze dieses Hügel.

Luc. Cornelius Scipio war es, der Antiochus III., den Grossen, bei Magnesia am Berge Sipylos in Lydien im Jahre 190 besiegte.

Tigranes, König von Armenien, Schwiegersohn des Mithridates, wurde im Jahre 69 von den Römern unter *Lucullus* besiegt.

93. Der Feldherr Lucullus ist berüchtigt wegen der verschwenderischen orientalischen Ueppigkeit seines Privatlebens, die für die Römer ein böses Beispiel wurde. — Ruhm als Heerführer erntete er in den Kriegen gegen Mithridates und Tigranes.

Der römische Kaiser Trajan (98—117), ein edler, grader Charakter, gab Proben seines Feldherrntalentes besonders im Kampfe mit den Daciern.

Turgot, Finanzminister unter Ludwig XVI., Vorgänger von Necker, trat den privilegierten Ständen entgegen, die er zur Theilnahme an den Steuerleistungen heranziehen wollte. Seine Popularität schreibt sich her von seinen Vorschlägen zu einer Reform der gesamten inneren Verwaltung in dem Sinne, dass den Bürgern grössere

Rechte eingeräumt und die gehässigsten Privilegien der Stände abgeschafft werden sollten, besonders aber von der Freigebung des Getreidehandels im Inneren Frankreichs (1775).

Lord William Bentinck war General-Gouverneur von Bengalen von 1828—35. Er wirkte mit Erfolg auf eine Milderung der Sitten der Hindus hin.

Warren Hastings.

I.

97. Hasting, der kühne Dänenkönig, wurde nach langen Kämpfen im Jahre 897 von Alfred dem Grossen aus England vertrieben. Seine Flotte musste von da ab die englische Küste meiden.

Coronets (Krönchen) sind die Kronen der „nobility“, des höheren Adels. Je nach der Rangstufe des Inhabers (*duke, marquis, earl, viscount, baron*) tragen die „coronets“ besondere, unterscheidende Abzeichen. Pembroke ist eine Grafschaft, es handelt sich also hier um eine „Grafenkrone.“ — Der Grafentitel wird, wie jeder andere Adelsgrad (mit Ausnahme der Würde eines „baron“, welche nur persönlich ist), zugleich mit dem unveräusserlichen Grundbesitze, an welchen der betr. Titel und seine Vorrechte geknüpft sind, erblich von der Krone verliehen und kommt im Falle des Aussterbens der Linie an die Krone zurück. — Ein Graf von Pemhroke aus dem Hause Hasting verlor im Jahre 1372 an der Spitze des englischen Geschwaders die Seeschlacht bei *La Rochelle* gegen die vereinigte französisch-kastilianische Flotte.

Lord Hastings, Minister des königlichen Haushaltes (*Chamberlain*) und Günstling Eduards IV., Vorsitzender des Königlichen Rathes, wurde im Jahre 1483 von Richard III. hingerichtet, angeblich, weil er denselben behext habe, thatsächlich aber, weil er die Rechte des jungen Sohnes Eduards IV. auf den englischen Thron standhaft vertheidigte. Vgl. *Shakespeare, Richard III., Act III, Scene IV.*

Die weisse Rose ist eine Bezeichnung des Hauses York, die rothe Rose bezeichnet das Haus Lancaster; beide Benennungen sind von den betreffenden Wappen

hergenommen. — Der Krieg zwischen den Häusern York und Lancaster dauerte von 1451 bis 1485.

Unter „the earldom of Huntingdon“ ist die Grafenwürde von Huntingdon, mit Einschluss der mit dieser Würde verbundenen Besitzungen und Privilegien zu verstehen.

98. Karl I., 1625—59, ist gemeint.

Worcestershire ist eine der westlichen Grafschaften Englands, vom Severn durchströmt.

Lenthal war der Präsident (*Speaker*, weil er bei besonderen Gelegenheiten im Namen des Parlaments zum Könige zu sprechen hat) des Unterhauses, welches Karl I. in den Anklagezustand versetzte.

99. Die Isis ist einer der Quellflüsse der Themse.

100. Newington, in früheren Zeiten eine Stadt für sich im Norden von London, ist jetzt eines der nördlichen Stadtviertel der Weltstadt.

Die Westminster-Schule ist eine mit der Westminster-Abtei verbundene Gelehrtschule, aus der viele englische Staatsmänner und Schriftsteller hervorgegangen sind. Sie ist mit der Westminster-Abtei auch baulich zusammenhängend und von dem Parlamentsgebäude (*New Westminster Palace*) nur durch eine Strasse getrennt.

Vincent (dafür in der Umgangssprache häufig *Vinny*) Bourne, submaster (Unterlehrer) in der Westminster-Schule, ist der Verfasser lateinischer Gedichte. Er starb 1747.

Charles Churchill, Prediger zu Westminster (1731 bis 1764), ist als satirischer Schriftsteller bekannt.

George Colman, der Aeltere, geb. 1733, also Altersgenosse von Warren Hastings, gab später das Studium der Rechte, das er ergriffen hatte, auf und widmete sich ganz der Poesie, speciell dem Drama. Im Jahre 1778 übernahm er das von *Foote* (vgl. die erste Erl. zu Seite 80) gegründete Haymarket-Theater. Er starb 1794 im Irrenhause.

Henry Lloyd, † 1783, war ein Taktiker, welcher nach einander in englischen, österreichischen, preussischen und russischen Diensten stand, und mehrfach zu geheimen diplomatischen Sendungen verwandt wurde. — Als Schriftsteller machte er sich einen Namen durch seine Memoiren

und durch eine unvollendet gebliebene Geschichte des Siebenjährigen Krieges.

Richard Cumberland, † 1811, hat sich als dramatischer Schriftsteller einen Namen gemacht.

Ueber William Cowper siehe pag. 241.

101. Westminster war früher eine Stadt für sich und hat noch jetzt seine eigene Verwaltung. Es bildet einen der ältesten und denkwürdigsten Theile des heutigen London.

Elijah Impey wurde erster Oberrichter des im Jahre 1773 durch Parlamentsakte (*Regulating Act*) kreirten Gerichtshofes für Civil- und Kriminalangelegenheiten in Calcutta.

Christ Church ist eines der besuchtesten Colleges in Oxford. — Die englische Universität zerfällt in eine Anzahl getrennter Institute, Colleges, (Oxford zählt deren 20, Cambridge 16) welche zu den verschiedensten Zeiten theils von der Regierung, theils von Privatpersonen gegründet sind. Diese *Colleges* sind meist sehr reich und mit prächtigen Gebäuden ausgestattet, in denen Lehrer und Schüler zusammenwohnen.

II.

102. Das Fort William, südlich von Calcutta gelegen, wurde angelegt im Jahre 1698 zum Schutze dieses Handelsplatzes, der, damals nur ein Dorf, von den Engländern käuflich erworben war.

Ueber Dupleix, den Gouverneur von Pondichery, vgl. *Lord Clive, III*, und die Einleitung.

Der Erbfolgekrieg in Carnatic wurde von Clive zur Begründung der englischen Herrschaft im Süden von Indien ausgebeutet. Das Nähere in *Lord Clive, III*.

103. In Murshedabad residirte der Nabob (siehe pag. 224) von Bengalen, welcher seit dem Tode des *Aurungzib* (vgl. pag. 226) thatsächlich unbeschränkter Herrscher der Provinzen *Bengalen, Bahar* und *Orissa* war.

„The Black Hole“: Das Nähere über diese Gräueltat des Surajah Dowlah in *Lord Clive*, Seite 37 und 38.

104. Diese Verschwörung, an deren Spitze der spätere Nabob *Meer Jaffier* und der Bankier *Jugget Seit* standen, wird eingehender besprochen in *Lord Clive*, Seite 43 ff.

Eine Schilderung der Schlacht bei Plassey (1757) findet sich in *Lord Clive*, Seite 47 und 48.

In *Lord Clive*, VI, entwirft Macaulay ein Bild der damaligen (1760—64) Zustände in Bengalen.

Mr. Vansittart stand während Clive's zweitem Aufenthalte in England (1760—64) als Gouverneur an der Spitze des Rathes von Bengalen.

106. Vgl. pag. 231.

St. James's Square ist ein Platz im Westen Londons, im eigentlich aristokratischen Theile vom Westend. An demselben liegt das Residenzschloss, *St. James's Palace*, und in der Nähe befinden sich sämtliche Regierungsgebäude.

III.

108. Hafiz war ein persischer Oden- und Elegiendichter, gestorben 1389 in Schiras.

Firdusi, der grösste epische Dichter der Perser, lebte in der zweiten Hälfte des zehnten Jahrhunderts. In seinem Hauptwerke, einem Heldengedichte, betitelt „*Königsbuch*“, besang er im Auftrage des Sultans Mahmud von Ghisni die Thaten der iranischen und persischen Herrscher und Heroen bis auf den Untergang der Sassaniden (632 nach Chr.).

Ueber Samuel Johnson siehe pag. 241.

Archangel liegt in Russland, am rechten Ufer der Dwina.

111. Der Prediger Gleig hatte eine Biographie von Warren Hastings verfasst, in welcher er denselben von jedem Makel zu reinigen versuchte. In Erwiderung auf diese unzuverlässige Darstellung entwarf Macaulay unsere Abhandlung.

IV.

112. Das Fort St. George an der Küste Coromandel wurde von den Engländern im Jahre 1641 zum Schutze von Madras angelegt.

113 Ueber Augustulus und Odoaker, Karl Martel und Pipin siehe die betr. Bemerkungen auf pag. 238. f.

Mr. Pitt (der Jüngere) und Mr. Dundas setzten im

Jahre 1784 ein Gesetz durch, welches das Kontrollbureau (siehe die betr. Bemerkung auf pag. 236) als staatliche Aufsichtsbehörde über die Verwaltung der ostindischen Besitzungen schuf. Zugleich wurde dem durch die *Regulationsakte* von 1773 (vergl. den Eingang von V) eingesetzten General-Gouverneur die unbeschränkte Exekutivgewalt übertragen. — Ueber Edmund Burke siehe die betr. Erl. auf pag. 263 ein. Auch die Kap. VIII und IX, welche den Prozess gegen Warren Hastings darstellen, erwähnen seiner oft.

115. Der Titel „rajah“, König, bezeichnete ursprünglich bei den Hindus nicht nur eine weltliche, sondern auch eine geistliche Würde; der „Maharajah“ oder Grosskönig war der höchste weltliche und geistliche Gebieter aller Anbeter des Brahma. Nachdem die weltliche Macht in Hindostan in die Hände der mohamedanischen Mongolen übergegangen war, hatte der Maharajah nur seine geistliche Würde beibehalten, doch stand er dieser Würde und seiner Herkunft wegen in hoher Achtung bei seinen Religionsgenossen und übte einen bedeutenden Einfluss aus.

Diese Umwälzungen werden von M. geschildert in *Lord Clive*, VI, und Eingang von VII.

116. Juvenal, ein römischer Satirendichter, lebte in der zweiten Hälfte des ersten Jahrhunderts nach Chr. — Die Jonier zeichneten sich nicht minder durch Schwäche und sinnliche Verweichlichung, als durch Klugheit und Interesse für Kunst und Wissenschaft aus. Im Handel waren ihnen nur die Phönizier überlegen.

Unter den „dark ages“ versteht der Engländer die erste Hälfte des Mittelalters (bis zum 12. Jahrhundert), während er die zweite Hälfte desselben als „*the middle ages*“ bezeichnet.

Sepoys, korrumpirt aus dem indischen Worte „*sepa-his*“, ist die Bezeichnung der einheimischen indischen Soldaten.

117. Die stoische Schule, von Zeno in der zweiten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. gegründet, wollte ihre Schüler praktische Lebensweisheit lehren. Uebung in der Tugend und Unempfindlichkeit gegen alles, was nichts mit der Tugend gemein hat, war nach ihnen die Aufgabe des Lebens als der einzige Weg zur Glückseligkeit. Der

Ideal-Weise (the ideal sage) besitzt eine solche sittliche Einsicht und Kraft, dass die Dinge, von denen das Glück oder Unglück, die Freude oder der Schmerz des gemeinen Menschen abhängt, ihn vollständig unberührt lassen.

Mucius Scaevola soll im Jahre 507 v. Chr. angesichts des Porsenna, den er hatte ermorden wollen, seine Hand in das Feuer eines Altars gesteckt und sie mit ruhiger Miene haben rösten lassen.

Algernon Sidney, Republikaner und Gegner Karls II., wurde 1683 hingerichtet, weil er angeblich dem „*Rye House Plot*“, einer Whig-Verbindung zur Ausschliessung Jakobs II. vom Throne, angehört hatte. An Stelle des letzteren wollte man den Herzog von Monmouth auf den Thron erheben.

118. Die Bedeutung des Titels „nabob“ siehe auf pag. 224. — Vgl. auch *Lord Clive*, VII, Absatz 1.

„Pagodas“ sind indische Goldmünzen, benannt nach dem Götzenbilde (*pagoda*), welches ihr Gepräge zeigt. Ihr Werth beträgt 8—9 Mark.

119. Leadenhall Street: Vgl. die betr. Bemerkung auf pag. 237.

Ueber den „Direktorenhof“ siehe das Nähere auf pag. 237.

120. Patna ist die Hauptstadt von Bahar. Ueber den Kampf der Engländer bei Patna gegen das Heer des Mogul *Shah Alum* findet sich das Nähere in *Lord Clive*, V, pag. 58.

Ueber die Entstehung und Bedeutung des Wortes „Mogul“ oder „Grossmogul“ vgl. pag. 225.

Begum ist die Bezeichnung einer Dame von hohem Range und entspricht hier unsrem Worte: *Prinzessin*.

122. Teviotdale ist eine andere Benennung der schottischen Grafschaft *Roxburgh*. Der Name rührt her von dem Flusse Teviot, einem Nebenflusse des Tweed.

123. Allahabad (Gottesstadt) liegt am Ganges.

Chorah liegt ebenfalls am Ganges, an der Westgrenze der Nabobie Audh.

124. Ueber die Nabobie Audh vergleiche pag. 229. — Uebrigens gilt das, was hier gesagt wird, für die gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse nicht mehr. Seit 1856 ist das

Gebiet von Audh vollständig annektirt von den Engländern und in einen britischen Verwaltungsbezirk umgewandelt.

Der Hyphasis, jetzt Satledj (siehe die Karte), ist der Nebenfluss des Indus, an welchem Alexanders indischer Feldzug endete.

Hydaspes ist die altgriechische Benennung des westlichsten der fünf Ströme des Penjab, der heute den Namen Jalam führt. Hier besiegte Alexander der Grosse im Jahre 326 v. Chr. den Poros.

125. In Betreff der Urbevölkerung von Indien und der Einwanderung der Arier ist die Einleitung einzusehen.

Das Kreuz des heil. Georg ist das Symbol der englischen Herrschaft. Dieser ritterliche Heilige (der Drachentödter) wurde bereits unter den Normannenkönigen zum Schutzheiligen von England erhoben.

Ueber Ghisni (oder Ghasna), die Hauptstadt des ehemaligen Ghasnavidenreiches, siehe pag. 244.

„Kabul and Kandahar“: siehe die betr. Erläuterungen auf pag. 229.

Vergleiche die Erläuterung zu Rohilcund, pag. 227.

Als zu Anfang des Mittelalters die germanischen Stämme als Eroberer auftraten, hatten sie im Anschluss an einen althergebrachten Brauch die Gewohnheit, hervorragende Kriegstüchtigkeit durch Belohnung mit einem Theile des eroberten Gebietes zu belohnen. Ein solches Lehen hiess „Speerlehen“.

Die Landschaft Kumaon, seit 1815 im Besitze der Briten, grenzt an Rohilcund und erstreckt sich bis in das Himalayagebirge hinein.

Näheres über Aurungzib giebt die betr. Bemerkung auf pag. 226.

Lahore, die Hauptstadt des im Jahre 1849 dem indobritischen Reiche einverleibten Penjab, vordem Hauptstadt des selbständigen Reiches der Sikhs, liegt im äussersten Nordwesten von Vorderindien. Von Lahore bis Kap Comorin besagt demnach: *durch ganz Vorderindien hindurch*.

Katharina II., unter deren Regierung das alte Polenreich durch die Verträge von 1772 und 1791 zwischen Russland, Preussen und Oesterreich getheilt wurde, war Kaiserin von Russland von 1782—96.

127. Der Kurfürst Friedrich II. von Hessen-Kassel verkaufte in dem Zeitraum von 1776—1784 wiederholt Truppen an England, welche im nordamerikanischen Kriege verwandt wurden, ein Geschäft, welches ihm 21,000,000 Thaler eintrug. — Auch der letzte Fürst von Ansbach (im Jahre 1806 fiel das Ländchen an Preussen) betrieb das einträgliche Geschäft des Soldatenhandels mit England.

Von Major Scott, dem im Solde Hastings' stehenden Wortführer desselben im Parlamente, ist im weiteren Verlaufe unsres Essay eingehender die Rede.

Caput lupinum ist eine Bezeichnung des Geächteten, des Vogelfreien, welcher wie ein Wolf von jedermann ungestraft erschossen werden darf. (O. Jäger.)

V.

131. Macaulay fügt hinter dieser kurzer Charakterisirung des Sir Philip Francis die Beweisführung ein, dass derselbe der Verfasser der berühmten *Juniusbriefe* ist, welche in den Jahren 1769—1771 im „*Public Advertiser*“ erschienen. Diese Beweisführung ist wegen der Durchsichtigkeit ihrer Logik und der Gewandtheit und Eleganz ihrer Sprache eine der vollendetsten Leistungen unseres Autors, so dass sie nur mit Bedauern weggelassen worden ist. Da sie aber zu dem Gegenstande unsres Essay nicht in direkter Beziehung steht, so hat sie übergangen werden müssen.

Der hohe Gerichtshof (Supreme Court), welchen die Regulationsakte ins Leben rief, stand unmittelbar unter der Autorität der Krone, die auch die Richter desselben ernannte.

Ueber Sir Elijah Impey vgl. pag. 101.

Inns of court, „*Advokateninnungen*“, sind unabhängige Associationen zur Heranbildung von Juristen. Sie führen nicht, wie die Universitäten, durch Vorlesungen, sondern durch praktische Arbeiten im Bureau eines Advokaten der Innung in die einzelnen Zweige der Rechtswissenschaft und Rechtspraxis ein. Einer staatlichen Kontrolle ist weder die äussere Organisation und die Vermögensverwaltung dieser Innungen (es giebt deren vier, die ohne Ausnahme sehr reich sind), noch das Belehungs- und Prüfungsverfahren derselben unterworfen. Zu

den Rechten dieser Korporationen gehört es auch, dass sie Grade ertheilen dürfen: den niederen Grad (*Barrister*) nach drei, den höheren Grad (*Sergeant-at-Law*) nach fünf Jahren. Wer fünf Jahre einer Innung angehört hat, erwirbt damit die Berechtigung zur Advokatenpraxis; der Graduirte schon nach Erlangung seines ersten Grades, also nach drei Jahren. — Alle diejenigen, welche ihre juristische Bildung einer dieser Innungen verdanken, bleiben auch für ihr späteres Leben Mitglieder der betr. Korporation.

133. Oates (spr. ōts), nach einander baptistischer Prediger, Marinekaplan und Jesuit, aber seines unzuverlässigen und böswilligen Charakters wegen aus jeder Religionsgemeinschaft ausgeschlossen, hatte im Jahre 1778 eine erdichtete papistische Verschwörung gegen das Leben Karls II. denunciirt. Bedloe, ein verurtheilter Strassenräuber, unterstützte die Angaben des Oates durch Meineide. — Auch Dangerfield trat als Zeuge auf in diesem Prozesse.
134. In Betreff des Rajah Goordas vgl. pag. 120.
136. Felony (frz. *félonie*) bezeichnet ursprünglich die Untreue des Vasallen gegen seinen Lehnsherrn. Das Wort ging in die Rechtssprache über und wurde technischer Ausdruck für dasjenige schwere Verbrechen, mit welchem eine Konfiskation des Grundbesitzes verbunden war. Da das Strafmaass sich im Laufe der Zeit geändert hat, so ist gegenwärtig die Konfiskation nicht mehr nothwendige Folge der „felony“. Das englische Recht klassificirt strafbare Handlungen als „felonies“, schwere Verbrechen, und „misdemeanours“, leichtere Vergehen. — Versuche, die Etymologie der Wortes *felony* festzustellen, sind vielfach gemacht. Diez leitet dasselbe her von einem vorausgesetzten Substantiv „fillo“, der Schinder, welches er aus dem ahd. Verbum „fillan“, schinden, bildet.
141. William Howard, Lord Stafford, war das vornehmste Opfer der vorerwähnten falschen Anklagen des Oates und seiner Genossen. Er wurde als siebzigjähriger Greis hingerichtet.
143. „The Tour to the Hebrides“, die Reise nach den Hebriden, ist ein Werk von Samuel Johnson, — der eigentliche Titel ist: „Journey to the western Isles of Scotland“ — in welchem er einen Zweifel an der Echt-

heit der Dichtungen Ossians äusserte. Er wurde in Folge dessen in eine Fehde mit Macpherson verwickelt.

Die Stelle findet sich in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, Act I, Scene 5.

Lord North, während seiner ganzen parlamentari- schen und ministeriellen Laufbahn Vertheidiger des auf Schwächung des Parlamentarismus ausgehenden Regie- rungsverfahrens Georgs III., führte als Premierminister das Staatsruder von 1770—1782. Seiner Politik ist der Ausbruch des nordamerikanischen Unabhängigkeits- krieges zuzuschreiben.

Zum „cabinet“ oder Gesamtministerium gehören: Der Premierminister (*First Lord of the Treasury*), der *Lord Chancellor*, der *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, die fünf Staatssekretäre (für die inneren Angelegenheiten, für die äusseren Angelegenheiten, für die Kolonien, für den Krieg und — seit 1858 — für Indien), der Präsident des *Privy Council*, der *First Lord of the Admiralty*, der Präsident des Handelsamtes, der *Lord Privy Seal*, der General-Postmeister und der Kanzler von Lancaster.

144. Ueber den Direktorenhof siehe das Nähere auf pag. 237.

„The Secretary of the Treasury“, der dirigirende Finanzminister, ist der *Chancellor of the Exchequer*. Ueber seine Stellung im Finanzamte und im Ministerium ist pag. 231 zu vergleichen. — Das Schatzamt (*Trea- sury*) hat die gesetzmässige Verwendung der Staatsein- künfte anzuordnen und zu überwachen; die Schatzkammer (*Exchequer*) hat die öffentlichen Gelder zu verwahren, gemäss den Anweisungen des Schatzamtes zu verausgaben und diesem Rechnung abzulegen.

Lord Sandwich war damals, im Ministerium *North*, Finanzminister.

„The Privy Council“, der Staatsrath, zusammen- gesetzt aus hohen Staatsbeamten und verdienten Privat- personen, welche vom Staatsoberhaupte berufen werden, bildete in früheren Zeiten die aktive Staatsregierung. Nachdem unter Wilhelm III. (1689—1702) das engere Ministerium (*cabinet*) die Leitung der Staatsgeschäfte in die Hände genommen hatte, wurden nur noch *pro forma* einzelne Beschlüsse desselben dem Staatsrathe zur Billigung vorgelegt. Die Mitgliedschaft des *Privy Council* bedeutet also gegenwärtig nicht viel mehr als eine persönliche

Auszeichnung. — Die Inhaber gewisser Staatsämter sind als solche Mitglieder des Staatsrathes.

Colonel Maclean war der Agent des Warren Hastings. Vgl. pag. 135.

Ueber das Amt der „crown-lawyers“ (*Attorney-General, Solicitor-General* und *the Queen's Advocate*) ist die betr. Bemerkung auf pag. 244 zu vergleichen.

VI.

148. Der Nordamerikanische Befreiungskrieg währte von 1775—1783.

Macaulay als echter „Whig“ sieht den Grund für die Blüthe Englands während der Regierung Georgs II. (1727—1760) hauptsächlich in dem Umstande, dass unter diesem Monarchen das Parlament und das, die Majorität desselben repräsentirende Ministerium die Politik des Landes leiteten, während Georg III. sein eigener Rathgeber sein wollte.

149. „The Straits of Calpe“ ist die englische Benennung der Meerenge von Gibraltar. Calpe war im Alterthum der Name des Felsens von Gibraltar, welcher mit dem gegenüberliegenden Mons Abyla die „Säulen des Herkules“ bildete.

Ueber den Volksstamm der Mahratten vgl. pag. 228.

„The Bonslas“ ist der Name des Mahratten-Geschlechtes, welches bis zum Jahre 1853 Berar regierte. Seit dieser Zeit steht die Provinz unter englischer Verwaltung.

Guicowar ist noch heute der Titel des Rajah von Guzerate. Man nennt dieses Land daher auch das Gebiet des Guicowar.

Guzerate liegt im Nordwesten von Indien, Malwa östlich davon und Berar im Innern von Decan.

Holkar war der erste Minister des Scindia und zugleich Rajah eines Theiles von Malwa, während Scindia „Maharajah“ (Grosskönig) über das ganze Gebiet von Malwa war.

Tanjore, seit 1678 ein *de facto* unabhängiges Mahrattenreich, jetzt ein Distrikt der Präsidentschaft Madras, zur Provinz Carnatic gehörig, zeigt besonders im Deltagebiete der Kaveri die üppigste Fruchtbarkeit.

Der Nabob von Audh hatte sich den weiteren Titel Vezier (ein arabisches Wort mit der Bedeutung „Verwalter“) beigelegt. Vgl. pag. 124.

Ueber den Titel „Nizam“ vgl. das Betreffende auf pag. 224.

150. Das Nähere über das Haus des Tamerlan ist auf pag. 225 zu finden.

Die Nachfolger des Sewaji hiessen, weil die Rajahs der übrigen Mahrattengebiete ihnen rechtlich untergeben waren, Ram-Rajahs, d. i. Oberkönige.

Sattara, die Hauptstadt des ursprünglichen Gebietes der Mahratten und Residenz des Ram-Rajah, ist unweit der Quellen des *Kristna* gelegen.

Der Peshwa oder erste Minister des untüchtigen Ram-Rajah, welcher um 1750 regierte, hatte seinen Souverän gefangen gesetzt, in Puna ein unabhängiges Reich gegründet und zugleich die Würde des Peshwa in seiner Familie erblich gemacht.

151. Lascaren nennt man die indischen Bootsknechte und Matrosen im Dienste der britisch-ostindischen Compagnie.

Ueber Eyre Coote siehe die betr. Bemerkung auf pag. 244 ein.

Gérard Lally, 1756 von Ludwig XV. zum Generalkommandanten aller französischen Niederlassungen in Ostindien ernannt, setzte den von Labourdonnais und Dupleix (L. Cl. I—III) begonnenen Kampf mit den Engländern um die Hegemonie in Decan fort. Nach der Niederlage bei Wandewash, im Norden von Pondichery, zog er sich auf letztere Stadt zurück, welche er jedoch im Jahre 1760 nach hartnäckiger Vertheidigung den Engländern ausliefern musste. — Dieser Misserfolge wegen ward er des Verrathes und der Feigheit angeklagt und starb 1766 durch das Schwert.

152. Porto-Novo liegt an der Küste Coromandel, südlich von Pondichery.

Pollilore (Pollur) liegt im Innern von Carnatic, nordwestlich von Pondichery.

154. Das in England gebräuchliche Thermometer ist das von Fahrenheit, welches den Raum zwischen dem Gefrier- und dem Siedepunkte in 180 Grade theilt, den Nullpunkt aber um 32 solcher Grade tiefer als den Ge-

frierpunkt ansetzt. 96° *Fahrenheit* sind demnach ($64.\frac{5}{9} =$) $35,5^{\circ}$ *Celsius* oder ($64.\frac{4}{9} =$) $28,5^{\circ}$ *Réaumur*.

Die Sitzungen der drei Reichsgerichte (*Court of King's Bench, Court of Common Pleas, Court of Exchequer*) werden abgehalten in besonderen Gemächern zu Seiten der Westminster-Halle, welche letztere mit dem Parlamentsgebäude (*New Westminster Palace*) architektonisch verbunden ist. Das ganze ungeheure Gebäudesystem liegt unmittelbar am Ufer der Themse in Westminster, in nächster Nähe von Westminster Bridge.

Als „*mesne process*“ wird derjenige Prozess bezeichnet, welcher sich im Verlaufe des ursprünglichen Prozesses als Seitenprozess an denselben anschliesst. Das Wort „*mesne*“ (identisch mit *mean*, frz. *moyen*) ist nur noch in der Rechtssprache gebräuchlich.

Die Sekte der Quäker wurde 1647 von *George Fox* gestiftet, welcher das strenge apostolische Christenthum mit demokratischer Kirchenverfassung und Ausschluss aller weltlichen Genüsse wieder herstellen wollte. Unter der Regierung Jakobs II. wurden die Quäker durch die Toleranzakte von dem Eide entbunden, an dessen Stelle das einfache Wort trat. — Die Bezeichnung „*Quakers*“ (Zitterer) ist ein volksthümlicher Beiname; die Gesellschaft selbst nennt sich „*the Society of Friends*“.

Die Provinzen Bahar und Orissa standen je unter einem *Zemindar* (Pächter). Ueber ihr Verhältniss zur Nabobie Bengalen siehe die betr. Note auf pag. 233 ein.

Wat Tyler (*Walther der Ziegler*) stand im Jahre 1381 unter der Regierung Richards II. an der Spitze eines furchtbaren Bauernaufstandes, der gegen den durch die unsinnige Verschwendung des Hofes veranlassten Steuerdruck gerichtet war. Die unmittelbare Veranlassung zum Aufruhre waren Ungezogenheiten, welche sich ein Steuer-Exekutor im Hause des Wat Tyler gegenüber dessen Tochter erlaubte, worauf Wat denselben niederschlug. — Er fand sein Ende, indem er während einer Unterredung mit dem Könige hinterrücks vom Pferde gestochen wurde.

156. In Lord Clive, VI, wird die Verwaltung des Vansittart (1760—1765, während Clive's zweitem Aufenthalte in England) mit ihren verderblichen Folgen näher geschildert.

158. Sir George Jefferies, Richter und Lordkanzler unter Karl II. und Jakob II., schändete die Würde seines Amtes, indem er Ungerechtigkeit mit Brutalität verband, um dem Hofe zu gefallen und die Zwecke der Krone zu fördern. Er war es, der den Republikaner Algernon Sydney (siehe pag. 117) ohne Ueberführung auf das Schaffot brachte. — Nach dem Sturze der Stuarts zur Verantwortung gezogen, trank er im Tower den Giftbecher.
159. Consultations, „*Berathungen*“, ist die Benennung der Sitzungsberichte.
160. Die Derwische, „*Thürschwellen*“, sind mohamedanische Mönche. Sie führen theils ein Zusammenleben in Klöstern, theils führen sie einzeln ein Wanderleben. Sie bekunden ihren religiösen Eifer in Fasten, Kasteiungen und der gewissenhaften Beobachtung strenger religiöser Gebräuche. Sie sind mild und wohlthätig, tolerant gegen Christen, und stehen beim Volke in hohem Ansehen. Noch jetzt sind sie daher nicht ohne politischen Einfluss.

Dieselben Eigenschaften machten es Ludwig XI. von Frankreich (1461—83) möglich, den zu vollständiger Unabhängigkeit emporstrebenden Feudaladel zu unterdrücken und die Einheit des Reiches fest zu begründen.

Der kleine Staat Mysore, von Eingeborenen bewohnt, die sich der Mehrzahl nach zum Kultus des Brahma bekennen, war bis zum Jahre 1760 dem Grossmogul zinspflichtig. In diesem Jahre schwang sich Hyder Ali, ein Mohamedaner, auf den Thron. Er war, nachdem er seine Tüchtigkeit als Heerführer erwiesen hatte, vom Rajah von Mysore zum Feldherrn ernannt worden, hatte darauf diesen vom Throne gestossen, sich selbst zum Rajah gemacht, das Verhältniss zum Grossmogul gelöst und als unwiderstehlicher Eroberer ein weites Gebiet an der Küste Malabar seinem Reiche einverleibt. Im Jahre 1767 gerieth er in Krieg mit den Engländern. Letztere kämpften meist unglücklich und mussten sich im Jahre 1772 mit einem Friedensabschlusse begnügen, nach dessen Bestimmungen beide Theile ihre Eroberungen wieder herauszugeben hatten. — Kämpfe mit den Mahratten in den Jahren 1774—79 hatten Hyder Ali Gelegenheit geboten, sein Reich auf Kosten dieser Gegner zu erweitern. — Gegenwärtig ist Mysore wieder auf seine

ursprüngliche Ausdehnung (es hat etwa die Grösse Baierns) beschränkt. Es wird wegen der Missregierung des verstorbenen Maharajah während der Minderjährigkeit des Thronerben von einem englischen Beamten (*Chief Commissioner*) regiert.

161. Der Colerūn ist der nördlichste und mächtigste von den Armen, durch die sich der Kaveri ins Meer ergiesst.

Dieser erneute Angriff des Hyder Ali auf die britischen Besitzungen und die Besiegung der englischen Truppen unter Sir Hector Munro und Baillie (spr. *bālī*) fanden statt nach Beendigung der oben erwähnten Kriege mit den Mahratten, im Jahre 1780.

162. Der Sieg des Sir Eyre Coote bei Porto Novo an der Küste Coromandel, südlich von Pondichery, fällt in das Jahr 1781.

163. Ueber das Verhältniss des Rajah von Benares zu dem Reiche von Delhi, zu Audh und (seit 1775) zu den Engländern spricht die betr. Note auf pag. 239. Die hier geschilderten Ereignisse gehören dem Jahre 1781 an.

St. James's Palace ist gemeint, das Residenzschloss der englischen Monarchen in London.

Petit Trianon, ein Lustschloss im Bereiche des Parkes von Versailles, wurde von Ludwig XV. gebaut. Es war zu der Zeit, in welcher sich unser Text bewegt, der Lieblingsaufenthalt der prunksüchtigen Königin Marie Antoinette.

Das Wort „muslin“ (frz. *mousseline*) ist zurückzuführen auf *Mosul*, eine Stadt in Mesopotamien, am Tigris.

Kashmir, am Nordwestende des Himalaya, früher eine Provinz des Grossmoguls, von 1752 – 1819 in der Gewalt der Afghanen, dann den Penjabreiche (der Sikhs) einverleibt, ist seit 1846 den Briten tributpflichtig. Das wichtigste Industrieprodukt dieses paradiesischen Landes sind die Kashmirshawls, zu denen das Haar der Kashmirziege den Stoff liefert.

165. Als Hugo Capet (987—996), Gründer der fränkischen Dynastie der Capetinger (987—1328), den machtlosen Thron der Karolinger bestieg, war das königliche Ansehen tief gesunken. Die Herzöge und Grafen sahen den König als ihres Gleichen an, nur den ersten Rang unter ihnen räumten sie ihm ein. Die Herzöge der seit

912 in der nach ihnen benannten Provinz (*Normandie*) ansässigen Normannen, die der Tüchtigkeit ihres Stammes allein ihre Errungenschaften verdankten, waren natürlich an wenigsten geneigt, den Königen von Frankreich volle Hoheitsrechte zuzugestehen.

Karl X., von 1824—1830 König der Franzosen, wirkte den Thron dadurch, dass er im Jahre 1830 in verschiedenen „*Ordonnanzen*“ wesentliche Rechte des Volkes eigenmächtig aufhob und verfassungsmässige Bestimmungen willkürlich änderte, trotzdem er die Verfassungsurkunde beschworen hatte.

Prinz Louis Bonaparte, der nachherige Kaiser der Franzosen, hatte im Jahre 1840, ein Jahr bevor Macaulay dies niederschrieb, den Versuch gemacht, durch eine plötzliche Landung in Frankreich und Proklamation des Kaiserreiches die Regierung des Louis Philipp zu stürzen.

168. Ueber den Verkauf von Allahabad und Rohilcund an den Nabob von Audh spricht Kap. IV.

169. Die schwarze Stadt („*the Black Town*“) von Calcutta ist der nördliche Theil dieser Stadt, in welchem Hindus und Mohamedaner wohnen. Die Europäer sind im südlichen Theile derselben ansässig, welcher die „weisse Stadt“ genannt wird.

172. Sujah Dowlah war es, dem Allahabad abgetreten wurde und der zu dem Vernichtungskriege gegen die Rohillas Veranlassung gab. Vgl. Kap. IV.

173. Lucknow, die Hauptstadt von Audh, liegt am Gumti, einem Nebenflusse des Ganges. Es hat gegenwärtig 300,000 Einwohner. Das prächtigste unter allen grossartigen Bauwerken dieser Stadt ist das Mausoleum Asaph-ul-Dowlah's, des Gründers von Lucknow, desselben, von welchem in unserem Texte die Rede ist.

Fyzabad, am Gogra gelegen, einem anderen Nebenflusse des Ganges, war bis auf Asaph-ul-Dowlah die Residenzstadt der Nabobie Audh gewesen.

177. Das schottische Rechtswesen ist von dem englischen durchaus getrennt, so dass die drei englischen Reichsgerichte (die *Westminster-Gerichte*) nur auf das eigentliche England ihre Wirksamkeit erstrecken. Das oberste schottische Gericht in Civilsachen heisst „*the Court of*

Session“, und dessen Vorsitzender führt den Titel „Lord President“.

Exeter ist die Hauptstadt der Grafschaft Devon. Wie die Richter der Westminster Courts nicht Assisen abhalten dürfen in Schottland, so auch umgekehrt die schottischen Richter nicht in England.

178. Edmund Burke, † 1797, hat sich ebenso berühmt gemacht durch seine schriftstellerische Thätigkeit — er ist der Verfasser von philosophischen, politischen und finanzwirthschaftlichen Abhandlungen —, als durch seine Wirksamkeit als Staatsmann und durch seine Parlamentsreden. Er gehörte der Whigpartei an und war anfangs ebenso beredter Vertheidiger der Selbsthülfe der französischen Nation in ihrem Kampfe gegen die verblendete Politik des Hofes, wie er später der heftigste Gegner der ausgearteten Revolution wurde. Zugleich war er der Führer der Opposition gegen das Ministerium des jüngeren Pitt.

„Lord Advocate“ ist der Titel des Anwalts der Krone für Schottland. Der „*Lord Advocate*“ ist mithin dasselbe für Schottland, was der *Attorney-General* für England ist: Er hat das Interesse der Krone vor Gericht zu vertreten und im Auftrage der Krone Prozesse anhängig zu machen.

Der „Secretary of State“, welcher hier gemeint ist, ist der „for the Foreign Department“.

179. Tippu Sahib war im Jahre 1782 seinem Vater in der Regierung von Mysore gefolgt.

VII.

Im Jahre 1782 war das irische Parlament in Folge eines grossartigen bewaffneten Aufstandes der Iren von der Oberhoheit des englischen Parlamentes freigesprochen worden.

Im Frieden von Paris, 1783, musste Grossbritannien an Spanien *Florida* und *Minorca*, an Frankreich *Senegal*, *Gorée* (Insel an der Küste von Senegambien, in der Nähe des grünen Vorgebirges) und die westindischen Inseln *St. Pierre* und *Miquelon* abtreten.

180. Ludwig XVI. (1774 — 93) und Kaiser Joseph (1781 bis 90), der Sohn von Franz I. und der Maria Theresia, waren zu der Zeit, welche der Text uns vorführt, die Herrscher auf dem französischen bzw. auf dem österreichischen Throne.

181. In Downing Street, einer Nebenstrasse von Parliament Street in London, liegt das Ministerium des Auswärtigen (*Foreign Office*) und das der Finanzen (*Exchequer*).

Somerset House, ein ungeheures Gebäude am Strand, d. h. an der Strasse, welche die City von London mit Westminster verbindet, enthält die Oberrechnungskammer (*Audit Office*) und die Büreaus für verschiedene Abgaben an den Staat, von denen die Stempel-, Erbschafts- und Accisegebühren die wichtigsten sind (*Inland Revenue Office*). Auch Theile anderer Verwaltungszweige sind dort untergebracht.

Im Feldzuge von 1705 wollte Marlborough die Mosellinie angreifen, aber die Deputirten von Holland verwarfen seinen Plan, zogen die holländischen Truppen zurück und liessen den General im Stiche. So entging diesem die Gelegenheit, gegen Villeroy einen entscheidenden Schlag zu thun und sich die Mosellinie als Basis für weitere Operationen zu sichern. — Vgl. auch pag. 234.

Ueber Wellington siehe pag. 234. — Der portugiesische Hof hatte sich im Jahre 1807, als die Franzosen gegen die Grenze des Landes heranrückten, nach Rio Janeiro begeben und an seiner Stelle eine Regentschaft eingesetzt, welche die Einheit der Regierung wahren und Ruhe und Ordnung aufrecht erhalten sollte.

Als im Jahre 1808 Joseph, der Bruder Napoleons, nachdem er sein früheres Königreich Neapel an Murat abgetreten hatte, den Thron von Spanien einnahm, bildete sich in Madrid eine geheime Centraljunta, welche die Interessen des Volkes und des angestammten Herrscherhauses wahren und den Aufstand gegen den Usurpator organisiren und leiten wollte. In allen grösseren Städten entstanden besondere Juntten, die sich mit der Centraljunta in Verbindung setzten. Es war natürlich keine leichte Aufgabe, mit diesen Behörden zu verkehren, die jeder festen, einheitlichen Organisation und daneben jeder legalen Autorität entbehrten.

Mr. Percival trat 1809 an die Spitze des englischen Ministeriums. Obgleich er selbst zur Fortsetzung des Krieges in Spanien geneigt war, so war doch die Stimmung des Landes so allgemein und so entschieden gegen den Krieg, dass das Ministerium die Verantwortlichkeit für die Weiterführung desselben im Jahre 1810 nicht länger übernehmen wollte und diese Verantwortlichkeit auf die Schultern des Generals Wellington selbst wälzte. — Man kann sich leicht vorstellen, in welcher Lage sich Wellington damals befand.

183. John Milton, der Dichter des „verlorenen Paradieses“, lebte von 1608—74. Seine Blüthe fällt in die Zeit der Republik, zu deren eifrigsten Anhängern er gehörte.

Ueber Adam Smith siehe pag. 242.

Sir William Jones, † 1794, hatte sich der Rechtswissenschaft gewidmet, daneben aber mit Eifer das Studium der orientalischen Sprachen betrieben. Sein Name ist als der eines bedeutenden Orientalisten über die Grenzen seines Vaterlandes hinaus bekannt geworden. Im Jahre 1783 wurde er zum Oberrichter von Bengalen ernannt und im folgenden Jahre gründete er in Calcutta unter dem Protektorate von Warren Hastings die im Texte besprochene „*Asiatic Society*“.

Pundit ist gebildet aus einem persischen Stamme „*pand*“, die Gelehrsamkeit.

185. Das Wort „Sahib“, der Hindusprache angehörig, bedeutet „Herr“.

186. „Carlton House“ ist der Name eines prächtigen Palastes in London, in Pall Mall, einer der vornehmsten Strassen von Westend, gelegen.

Im Palais Royal in Paris, von Kardinal Richelieu erbaut, wurde unter den Bourbonen eine verschwenderische Pracht entfaltet.

187. Macaulay spielt hier an auf eine Scene aus „Sir Charles Grandison“, einem Roman von Samuel Richardson († 1761).

VIII.

188. Ode XVI des zweiten Buches.

Plymouth, befestigte Seestadt und Kriegshafen in der Grafschaft Devon, liegt an der Mündung des Plym.

Cheltenham ist eine Stadt und zugleich ein vielbesuchter Badeort in der Grafschaft Gloucester, nordöstlich von der Stadt Gloucester.

189. Wir haben jedenfalls an den Roman- und Reiseschriftsteller Thomas Colley Grattan, einen Zeitgenossen von Macaulay, zu denken, dessen Werke zur Zeit des Erscheinens unsres Essay in England allgemein bekannt waren und sich eines grossen Beifalls erfreuten.

Ueber Wedderburn und sein Verhältniss zu Clive vgl. L. Cl. VIII.

190. Wenn man auch den Urtheilen des Macaulay im allgemeinen einen ungewöhnlichen Grad von Unbefangenheit nicht absprechen kann, so muss man doch zugeben, dass dann und wann Parteiinteressen seinen Blick trüben. Die kategorische Behauptung, dass Burke, der bedeutendste Redner der Whigpartei in den achtziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts, der grösste unter allen Männern seiner Zeit gewesen sei, können wir nicht unbefangen nennen.

191. Lord Lansdowne, † 1805, hatte sich als Redner durch das Auftreten gegen den älteren Pitt und gegen das Koalitions-Ministerium Rockingham-Fox (siehe pag. 242) einen Namen gemacht. Er ist der Sammler einer ausgedehnten Bibliothek alter Handschriften, welche später unter dem Namen „*Lansdowne Manuscripts*“ dem Britischen Museum in London einverleibt wurden.

Fox hatte im Jahre 1783 eine East-India Bill eingebracht, nach welcher einer vom Parlamente gewählten Kommission von sieben Mitgliedern die höchste Macht und das Schutzrecht über Ostindien anvertraut werden sollten. Diese Bill war mit grosser Majorität verworfen worden.

Der „Lord Chancellor“ oder „Lord High Chancellor“, der Justizminister, Grosssiegelbewahrer und zugleich Vorsitzende des Oberhauses, ist stets der zweite in der Rangordnung der Minister. Vgl. pag. 256.

194. Las Casas, Priester auf Cuba, war unermüdlicher Vertheidiger der Menschenrechte der Indianer gegen spanische Grausamkeit. Seine Bemühungen waren erfolglos. Er starb im Jahre 1566 im Dominikanerkloster zu Madrid.

Clarkson eiferte in Gemeinschaft mit Wilberforce (vgl. die folgende Seite) unermüdlich gegen die Barbarei des Sklavenhandels.

195. „Beaconsfield“ ist der Name der Villa des Edmund Burke, wo derselbe im Jahre 1797 starb. — Da er in Armuth versunken war, wurde ihm 1794, bei seinem Rücktritt von der politischen Schaubühne, eine Jahresrente von £ 2500 von Georg III. ausgesetzt.

St. James's Street, im Westend von London, führt nach dem Parlamentsgebäude (*New Westminster Palace*) hin.

Lord George Gordon, einem schottischen Adelsgeschlechte angehörnd, war ein Zeitgenosse von Warren Hastings. Als Mitglied des Unterhauses trat er ohne irgend welchen weiteren Anhang sowohl der Regierungspartei wie der Opposition feindlich gegenüber. Als man im Jahre 1778 den Katholiken grössere Freiheiten einräumte, bildete er eine protestantische Association, der er immer weitere Ausdehnung zu geben wusste. Im Jahre 1780 brachte er eine Volksversammlung von über 100,000 Menschen auf St. George's Square zusammen, stellte sich an die Spitze dieses Volkshaufens und überreichte eine Petition zur Aufhebung der Toleranzakte. Zahlreiche Gräueltthaten, Brandstiftungen und andere pöbelhafte Excesse gegen Katholiken schlossen sich dieser aufrührerischen Bewegung an.

196. Dr. Dodd, seit 1765 Hofprediger in London, wurde wegen eines Bestechungsversuches abgesetzt, gerieth in Schulden, stellte einen falschen Wechsel aus und endete in Folge dessen 1777 am Galgen.

Das Stempelgesetz („the Stamp Act“) vom Jahre 1765, das den Kolonien Stempelabgaben an das Mutterland auferlegte, war eine der Maassnahmen, welche den Abfall der nordamerikanischen Kolonien von England veranlassten. Vgl. pag. 235.

Burke griff im Jahre 1787 bei der Berathung des Handelstraktates mit Frankreich (eine verdienstvolle Er rungenschaft Pitts) das Ministerium des jüngeren Pitt in

rücksichtsloser Weise an, und ebenso bekämpfte er im folgenden Jahre die Absicht desselben Ministeriums, für den kranken und altersschwachen Georg III. eine Regentschaft einzusetzen.

IX.

198. Der Sergeant-at-arms ist derjenige Beamte, welcher einer gesetzgebenden Körperschaft zur Aufrechterhaltung der Ordnung und zur Ausführung von Verhaftsbefehlen zur Verfügung gestellt ist.

Dundas stand an der Spitze des Board of Control.

199. Ueber den Bath-Orden vgl. pag. 243.

Die Bedeutung des Privy Council siehe pag. 256.

Ueber den Grosssiegelbewahrer siehe die Bemerkung zu „*Lord Chancellor*“ auf der vorangehenden Seite. Thurlow selbst war damals „*Keeper of the Great Seal*“, also der zweite in der Rangordnung der Minister. Die dritte Stelle im Ministerium, die des „*Chancellor of the Exchequer*“, hatte damals Dundas inne.

202. William Wyndham, Lord Grenville, Sohn von George Grenville (siehe pag. 235) trat 1782 ins Unterhaus und wurde 1789 Präsident (Speaker) desselben. Als Minister des Auswärtigen (*Principal Secretary for the Foreign Department*) im Ministerium des jüngeren Pitt gewann er bedeutenden Einfluss auf alle Staatsangelegenheiten. Später näherte er sich den Ansichten der gemässigten (aristokratischen) Whigs und bildete nach Pitts Tode (1806) mit Fox zusammen das Koalitionsministerium „der Talente“. Er starb 1834. — Als literarische Arbeiten sind Ausgaben des Homer und des Horaz von ihm zu erwähnen.

Lord Mulgrave, für den Seedienst erzogen, war als Mitglied des Unterhauses Anhänger des Ministeriums Pitt, in welches er später als erster Lord der Admiralität (Marineminister) selbst eintrat.

William Wilberforce, bedeutender Parlamentsredner (von 1780—1825), hat seinen Namen unsterblich gemacht durch die unermüdliche Energie, mit welcher er die Abschaffung des Sklavenhandels — wesentlich sein Verdienst — betrieb. Die edle Reinheit seiner Absichten machte ihm selbst seine politischen Gegner gewogen. Vgl. die Bemerkung zu Clarkson, pag. 267.

Unter „the Treasury bench“ ist der Platz für den Premierminister im Unterhause zu verstehen.

203. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, der bekannte Schriftsteller, Verfasser von „*The Rivals*“ und „*The School for Scandal*“, trat 1780 ins Unterhaus ein und schloss sich der Oppositionspartei an, deren Führer Fox war. Auch als Redner machte Sheridan sich bald einen Namen.
204. William Windham (nicht zu verwechseln mit William Wyndham, Lord Grenville) entstammte einer Familie in Norfolk. Auch er wurde, wie Lord Grenville, 1782 ins Parlament gewählt. Er gehörte der Whigpartei an, doch veranlasste ihn sein Abscheu vor der französischen Revolution und sein Hass gegen Napoleon, die äussere Politik des Ministeriums Pitt aufs kräftigste zu unterstützen. Als nach dem Rücktritt des Ministeriums Addington (1804) Pitt von neuem die Führung des Staatsruders übernahm, bot er, wie dem Lord Grenville, so auch Windham eine Stelle im Ministerium an, die beide jedoch ausschlugen, weil Fox in dasselbe nicht aufgenommen werden sollte. In dem Ministerium Grenville-Fox (1806 bis 1807) übernahm Windham das Departement des Krieges. Er starb 1810.

Lord Holland, der Neffe und Parteigenosse von Fox, der zur Zeit des Ministeriums Pitt und der nachfolgenden Ministerien in den ersten Jahrzehnten unseres Jahrhunderts sich als entschiedener und beredter Verteidiger einer freisinnigen Politik im Parlamente bemerkbar gemacht hatte, war im Jahre 1840, also kurze Zeit vor der Abfassung unseres Essay, gestorben.

Das englische Oberhaus hat zugleich richterliche Befugnisse, und zwar ist es Ober-Appellationsgericht für die drei Reichsgerichte, sowie für die schottischen und irischen höchsten Gerichtshöfe; es entscheidet ferner über eine Anklage wegen „*felony*“ oder „*treason*“, wenn dieselbe gegen einen Peer oder gegen ein Mitglied der königlichen Familie (mit Ausschluss des Staatsoberhauptes selbst) gerichtet ist; es bildet endlich das richterliche Forum im Falle eines „*impeachment*“, d. h. im Falle der Anklage eines Lord, eines Gemeinen oder eines hohen Staatsbeamten von Seiten des Unterhauses.

206. Die Westminsterhalle, wurde erbaut von Wilhelm Rufus (1087—1100), dem Nachfolger Wilhelms des Eroberers. In dieser Halle finden die Krönungen der englischen Könige statt.

Bacon von Verulam († 1628), welcher der Philosophie und den Naturwissenschaften einen neuen Weg zur Erkenntniss vorschrieb (den Weg der Empirie und des induktiven Schlusses), war unter Jakob I. zu hohen Hofämtern gelangt. Er wurde im Jahre 1621 vor dem Hause der Peers der Bestechlichkeit und des Missbrauches des Staatssiegels angeklagt und schuldig befunden.

Lord Somers, ein freisinniger Staatsmann (*Whig*), dessen Hauptverdienste die Befreiung der Presse von der Censur und die Vereinigung Englands und Schottlands zu einem einheitlichen Reiche (Grossbritannien, 1707) sind, wurde unter Wilhelm III. im Jahre 1695 Grosssiegelbewahrer. Von seinen Gegnern ohne Grund des Missbrauches seiner Amtsgewalt angeklagt, ward er vom Oberhause freigesprochen.

Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, gehörte anfänglich der Oppositionspartei gegen Karl I. an (die berühmte „*petition of right*“ ist sein Werk), später aber bildete er zusammen mit dem Bischof Laud die festeste Stütze dieses Monarchen, der ihm auch die Leitung seiner Truppen anvertraute. Im Jahre 1640 erhob das Haupt des Unterhauses gegen ihn die Anklage, den König zum Kampfe gegen sein Volk gereizt zu haben. Er vertheidigte sich selbst mit grossem Geschick, wurde aber verurtheilt und fiel im Jahre 1641 als das erste Opfer der Revolution.

Auch der Prozess gegen Karl I. wurde in der Westminsterhalle geführt. — „High Court of Justice“ nannte sich das revolutionäre Tribunal der Independenten, welches sich die Berechtigung angemasst hatte, über Karl I. zu Gericht zu sitzen.

„King-at-arms“ ist ursprünglich der Titel des Vorstehers oder Marschalls des Heroldsamtes, welcher zugleich Schiedsrichter in allen Wappenangelegenheiten ist. Später traten zu diesem, der in Folge dessen den unterscheidenden Zusatz „garter“ annahm, noch zwei andere Kings-at-arms hinzu, und zwar der „clarencieux“ (unter Eduard IV., benannt nach dem Herzoge von Clarence), welcher als Marschall bei den Leichenbegängnissen der

Ritter fungirt, und der „norroy“ (zusammengezogen aus „*northroy*“), der King-at-arms für Schottland.

Die muthige Vertheidigung von Gibraltar durch George Eliott gegen die vereinte Macht der Spanier und Franzosen fand statt im Jahre 1782.

Der damalige Prinz von Wales war der nachherige König Georg IV., welcher von 1820—30 den Thron inne hatte.

207. Sarah Siddons, eine der berühmtesten tragischen Schauspielerinnen der Engländer, war seit 1780 am Coventgarden Theater angestellt.

Edward Gibbon († 1794) ist gemeint, dessen Hauptwerk, „*History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*“, in den Jahren 1782—1788 in London erschien.

Sir Joshua Reynolds († 1792) ist der berühmteste Maler Englands. — Die Engländer sind um so stolzer auf ihren Reynolds, als die Zahl der bedeutenderen Maler, welche dieser Nation angehören, sehr gering ist.

Samuel Parr († 1825), bis 1786 Prediger und Domherr an der Paulskathedrale in London, hat besonders in seiner Eigenschaft als Philologe und Schulmann seinen Namen weithin berühmt gemacht. Er war Leiter einer von ihm selbst gegründeten Erziehungsanstalt.

Der Prinz von Wales hatte sich im Geheimen mit einer Katholikin, Fitzherbert mit Namen, trauen lassen.

Die Mutter Georgs III., Wittve des 1751 verstorbenen ältesten Sohnes von Georg II. (Friedrich, Prinzen von Wales, vgl. pag. 231), scheint gemeint zu sein.

208. Die drei Reichsgerichte in Westminster sind: the Court of King's Bench, für Hoheits und Kriminalsachen (in denen die Krone interessirt ist); the Court of Common Pleas, für Civilsachen (in denen die Krone nicht interessirt ist); the Court of Exchequer, für fiskalische Klagen.

Lord Melville ist der vielerwähnte Mr. Dundas, der vertraute Freund und Gesinnungsgenosse Pitts. Er, dessen Bemühungen wesentlich das „impeachment“ des Warren Hastings zuzuschreiben ist, hatte sich später selbst vor dem hohen Forum des Oberhanses zu verantworten. Im Jahre 1802 hatte er die Peerswürde erlangt mit dem Titel „Viscount Melville“. Ungerechter Begünstigung seines Geburtslandes (Schottland) und der

Bestechung bei den Parlamentswahlen beschuldigt, ward er vom Unterhause wegen Verwendung öffentlicher Gelder zu unerlaubten Zwecken förmlich angeklagt, vom Oberhause aber freigesprochen.

Master of the Rolls nennt man den Vorsteher des gesammten Staatsarchivs.

209. Hyperides, einer der zehn attischen Redner, war ein Zeitgenosse und Freund des Demosthenes. Wie dieser es besonders auf eine bleibende, moralische Wirkung seiner Beredtsamkeit abgesehen hatte, so brachte jener durch einen Aufwand von Witz und glänzenden Worten einen augenblicklichen Eindruck bei seinen Zuhörern hervor.

Ein „fellowship“ ist die Stelle und damit zugleich die Pension eines „fellow“ der Universitäten Oxford oder Cambridge. Die fellows ergänzen sich für den Fall, dass Stellen frei werden, durch Cooptation aus der Zahl derjenigen Graduirten der betr. Universität, welche Preise davongetragen haben. Sie erhalten eine Pension von ca. £ 2500 jährlich für das ganze Leben, es sei denn, dass sie aus der englischen Staatskirche austreten. Viele von ihnen bleiben an den Universitäten als Docenten, aber nicht alle, da ein fellowship an den Wohnort nicht gebunden ist.

Ueber „College“ siehe die betr. Note auf pag. 249 ein.

Charles Earl Grey, der im Alter von 20 Jahren bereits Parlamentsmitglied geworden war, trat nach Pitts Tode (1806) in das von Grenville gebildete Ministerium ein. Nach Auflösung desselben stand er viele Jahre hindurch im Unterhause und später im Oberhause als Redner und Führer der Whigpartei in hohem Ansehen und war von gewaltigem Einfluss. Macaulay selbst hatte der Whigpartei angehört in der Zeit, als Grey das Haupt derselben war. — Im Jahre 1830 trat Grey an die Spitze eines Whigministeriums. Ueber die Reformakte, die wesentlichste Leistung dieses Ministeriums, vgl. pag. 232, oben.

211. Thomas Sheridan, der Vater von Richard Brinsley Sheridan, war Schauspieler. Er ist ferner der Verfasser eines noch vielfach benutzten ortho-epistischen Wörterbuches.

212. Die Regentschaftsbill (*Bill of Regency*) ist die Bill, durch welche die Oppositionspartei unter Fox im Jahre 1788 die Ernennung des Prinzen von Wales zum Regenten an Stelle des geisteskranken Königs bezweckte. (Im Jahre 1789 erholte sich Georg III. noch einmal; im Jahre 1810 erlosch das Licht seines Geistes vollständig.) — Die Bill wurde vom Unterhause angenommen, vom Oberhause aber verworfen.

Die französischen Reichsstände (*États Généraux*) wurden auf Veranlassung des Finanzministers Necker einberufen und versammelten sich am 5. Mai 1789.

Unter „*impeachment*“ ist die specielle Anklage zu verstehen, welche von Seiten des Unterhauses gegen einen hohen Staatsbeamten wegen eines Verbrechens oder einer Amtsüberschreitung angestrengt und vor dem Forum des Oberhauses verhandelt wird.

Circuits (spr. cirkits) sind die Rundreisen der Richter in den Provinzen zur Abhaltung von Assisen. Nur die Richter der drei Reichsgerichte sind berechtigt, eine Jury zu berufen. Zur Bequemlichkeit des Publikums ist das Land in bestimmt begrenzte Distrikte (die ebenfalls „*circuits*“ heissen) eingetheilt, welche jährlich zweimal besucht werden, und zwar jedesmal von zwei Richtern. Der Sheriff des betr. Distriktes, dem vorher mitgetheilt ist, wann die Richter zu erwarten sind, hat die Jury an den Assisenort zu bestellen.

215. Der „woolsack“ (Wollsack), ein geräumiger, mit rothem Tuch überzogener Sitz ohne Rück- und Seitenlehnen, ist der Platz für den Lordkanzler (Justizminister) im Oberhause. Daneben dient er auch, und daran ist hier zu denken, den Richtern als Sitz, welche als Rechtsbeistände der Lords bei schwierigen Prozessen zu Rathe gezogen werden. — Rechtlich steht der „woolsack“ ausserhalb des Oberhauses.

219. In Whitehall, einem grossartigen Gebäude im Westend von London, ist das Schatzamt (*Treasury*) und das Ministerium des Innern (*Home Office*) untergebracht.

Nachdem der jüngere Pitt von 1783—1801 ununterbrochen an der Spitze der Staatsverwaltung gestanden hatte, sah er sich gezwungen, seinem Parteigenossen Addington Platz zu machen. Als dieser aber die Rüstungen gegen Frankreich zu lässig betrieb und da-

durch Pitt zu einer heftigen Opposition gegen die Regierung veranlasste, musste er seinem Vorgänger im Jahre 1804 wieder das Staatsruder überlassen.

Allipore ist eine der südlichen Vorstädte von Calcutta.

220. Covent Garden ist der grösste Markt von London, auf welchem besonders Blumen, Gemüse und Früchte aus allen Erdtheilen verhandelt werden. An diesem Markte liegt das berühmte Coventgarden Theater.

Bhūtan (*Bootan*), eine unabhängige Landschaft am Himalaya, schliesst sich mit ihrer Südgrenze an Bengalen an.

Dionysius der Aeltere, Tyrann von *Syracus* (406 bis 367 vor Chr.) war einer der mächtigsten Herrscher seiner Zeit. Seine Eitelkeit, auch als Dichter glänzen zu wollen, trug ihm auf den olympischen Spielen des Jahres 388 Spott und Hohn ein.

221. Seward, in den sechsziger Jahren unseres Jahrhunderts Staatssekretär der Ver. Staaten von Nordamerika, war zu der Zeit, als Macaulay dies niederschrieb, Gouverneur des Staates Newyork. Das nordamerikanische Unterrichtswesen ist ihm zu grossem Danke verpflichtet. — Es scheint, als ob er sich in eben jener Zeit durch jetzt vergessene literarische Erzeugnisse lächerlich gemacht habe.

222. „The Sheldonian Theatre“ ist das grosse Auditorium der Universität Oxford, welches 3000 Personen fasst. Hier finden die Promotionen, Gedächtnissreden und dergl. öffentliche Feierlichkeiten statt.

König Friedrich Wilhelm III. von Preussen und Kaiser Alexander von Russland besuchten London im Juni des Jahres 1814.

„The Guildhall“ (das Gildenhaus), das Rathhaus von London, ist ein alterthümliches Gebäude in der City.

Die Westminster-Abtei dient als Begräbnisstätte aller nationalen Berühmtheiten Englands, der Staatsmänner, der Krieger und der Schriftsteller (*the Poets' Corner*).

223. Richelieu, der Minister Ludwig XIII., leitete die Geschichte Frankreichs von 1624—1642.

Ueber Cosmo von Medici, einen Mann ohne Rang und Titel, der den florentinischen Freistaat fast unumschränkt beherrschte, vgl. pag. 243.

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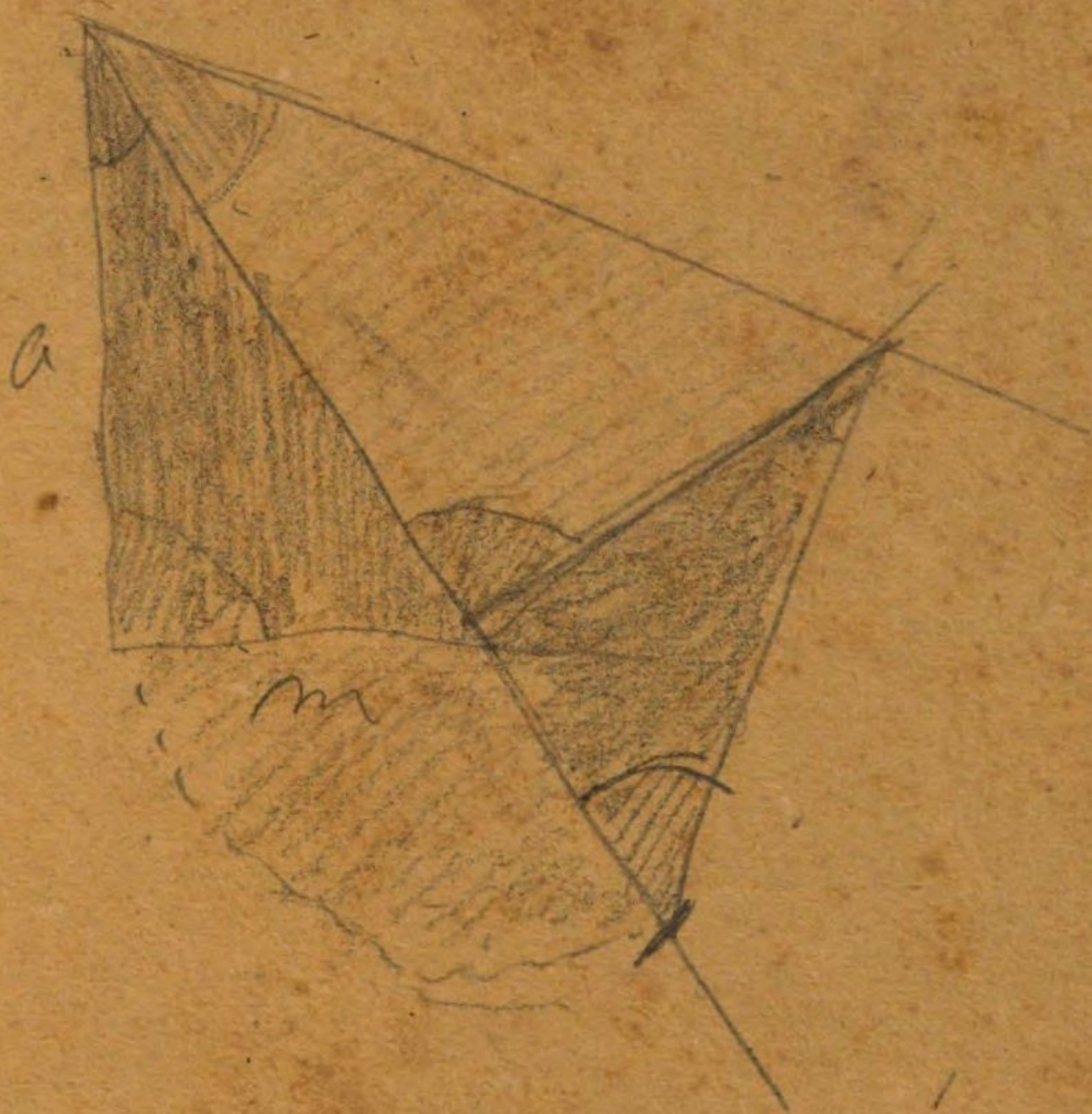
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